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Worried Germans hold key to Nato unity

Is Bonn the sick man of the Atlantic alliance, weakened by exposure to the radiation of President Reagan's and Defence Secretary Weinberger's rhetoric and stupefied by the drug of peace offered by Mr Andropov?

Will this be the year in which the cohesion of Nato is decided "in the Germans' minds," as Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner puts it?

This view seemed to predominate in the minds of politicians, diplomats and military experts in Munich for the 20th *Wehrkundetagung*, or defence studies congress.

Egon Bahr, as a leading Social Democratic speaker, did little to dispel their fears. Not surprisingly, the election campaign made its mark on the Munich meeting.

The issue at stake was, as ever, the future of the Atlantic alliance, which will be in the dark as long as no solution has been found to the current crisis.

There are too many points on which Nato countries are either not clear or at odds. They include the outcome of the Geneva Euromissile talks and the credibility Nato's flexible response strategy retains.

Can the nuclear threshold be hoisted higher? Is the cash available for the strengthening of conventional armed forces that is needed?

In what circumstances might Europe start to decouple from America and might a greater right to a European say in Nato decisions consolidate the North Atlantic pact and make missile modernisation more palatable?

There were many answers to these questions, the last of which was posed by Bundeswehr General Gerd Schmückle (retd).

As in the past, there were clear differences of opinion between Germans and Americans. This state of affairs has changed little since the change of government in Bonn.

German worries are not just triggered by the US arms industry's protectionism. Franz Josef Strauss, the Bavarian Prime Minister, and Alois Mertes, Minister of State at the Bonn Foreign Office, made the same point from different angles.

Both are worried by the effect US behaviour may have on German public opinion.

Herr Strauss would like to see missile modernisation relieved of its dependence on the Geneva talks.

He grandly dismissed the zero option as absurd even though Defence Minister Wörner and US speakers upheld it, at least pro forma.

The CSU leader feels the German soul, which most people present felt is at stake, can be taken by storm. Herr Mertes is more cautious and arguably more realistically.

He called on the Americans not to further exacerbate German anxieties by stepping up public discussion of worst conceivable cases.

Both men's worries sounded exaggerated inasmuch as the zero option has already been dropped from the Geneva conference agenda.

This was confirmed by no less an authority than the chief US negotiator, Paul Nitze. But specific US proposals requested by a number of conservative participants look like having to wait until after the German general election.

Much though the Americans might like to lend the CDU/CSU a helping hand, they are also worried proposals might be flogged to death in the election campaign, merely whetting the appetite for further concessions.

They felt able to infer from what Social Democrat Egon Bahr had to say that their fears were not entirely unfounded.

Herr Bahr is indeed a formidable one-man deterrent with his talent for ambiguous and indeterminate comments.

He said he had personal doubts whether what might emerge from the Geneve talks would be feasible, given the resistance to missile modernisation that might be expected.

He wondered whether the stability of the Federal Republic and Nato was not to be rated more highly than the introduction of a new weapons system.

This left US listeners wondering whether Herr Bahr had inwardly already parted company with the Nato dual-track resolution or merely sought, by painting threatening pictures of an alarming confrontation between Bonn and Washington, to persuade the United States to make further concessions.

Both options are equally unpleasant from the US point of view, but as he is opposed to an interim solution which would whatever happened mean partial missile modernisation, he must be assumed at least to be aiming at a postponement of the stationing deadline.

Herr Bahr may be too anxious in his view of the part of German public opinion that is opposed to missile modernisation.

But those who simply make the media out to be to blame for the Germans' nuclear worries take too easy a view of the position.

Americans in particular find it hard to appreciate that by flaunting worst case talk in a bid to get the US arms

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Kohl meets Afghans

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Kohl (right) meeting a group of Afghan resistance leaders in Strasbourg at the invitation of the European Assembly. Herr Kohl was in Strasbourg to address Euro-MPs. (Photo: dpa)

Missile debate leaves voters mystified

The German general election campaign has breathed fresh life into the debate within the Western alliance on Washington's attitude at the Geneva arms control talks with Moscow.

The connection was indirectly confirmed by US Vice-President George Bush's tour of Europe.

Yet German election campaigners out on the hustings have created more confusion than clarity among voters with their missile talk.

Chancellor Kohl sees his salvation in retaining the so-called double zero option, the renunciation by both sides of all land-based medium-range missiles proposed by President Reagan at the behest of the old Bonn government.

Russia has so far rejected the idea out of hand, noting that Britain, France and China (and not just it and America) are nuclear powers.

So the Bavarian Prime Minister, Franz Josef Strauss, feels the double zero option is unrealistic, and he is doubtless right.

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the Free Democratic leader, would not like to rule out an interim solution, as he puts it.

As Foreign Minister he is not yet in a position to declare President Reagan's proposal dead and buried, but at the same time he well understands Moscow's rejection.

The SPD Shadow Chancellor, Hans Jochen Vogel, bases his view on the Munich SPD conference resolution to review the situation at the end of the year in the light of progress at the Genova talks.

Only then, he says, need consideration be given to stationing Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in West Germany, to whether and to what extent.

Herr Vogel says he can imagine a Bonn government led by him vetoing the stationing of new US missiles in Germany even if agreement is not reached at the Geneva talks.

He envisages this possibility if the blame for failure to reach agreement could be laid fairly and squarely on the United States for not being ready enough to compromise.

All four party leaders, Herr Kohl, Herr Strauss, Herr Genscher and Herr Vogel, face the problem that Nato governments have been incapable of getting across to a wider public the basic idea behind the December 1979 Nato dual-track resolution.

It is that if the West is to persuade the Soviet Union to negotiate any reduction in the number of SS-20 missiles the West has no choice but first to threaten to modernise its own medium-range missile potential.

President Reagan and Defence Secretary Weinberger have fuelled the fires of suspicion that what they had in mind was a fresh arms race.

Yet fundamentally the dual-track resolution seems to have been right. Moscow appears prepared to scrap some its SS-20s if Washington agrees at the talks not to station Pershing 2s in Western

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Slow progress at Madrid annoys neutrals

Neutral countries have of late grown perceptibly more impatient with the course of the Helsinki review conference in Madrid.

Diplomats from Europe's neutral nd non-aligned countries spent two days in conference in Berne at the beginning of February to discuss further moves.

They included traditional neutrals such as Austria, Switzerland and Sweden and non-aligned countries large and small.

The larger ones, by European standards, are Yugoslavia, Finland and Ireland. The small fry include Cyprus, Malta and Iceland.

All are keen to arrive at a common platform they can advocate to rank alongside those of Nato and the Warsaw Pact.

Their main concern is to be represented and to put the Madrid conference to good use in the interest of their non-aligned or neutral status.

This requirement is steadily less fulfilled the more the conference is caught in the cleft stick of East-West conflict on its two major issues: human rights and plans for a European disarmament conference.

The European countries, Canada and the United States are now back in session in Madrid in a bid to reach agreement on terms by Easter.

The neutral and non-aligned countries submitted a draft a year ago that would have been backed by Nato members had it not been superseded politically by martial law in Poland.

Thereafter the Western countries were no longer satisfied with its terms, whereas the Soviet Union came increasingly to appreciate the draft as the lesser of two evils.

In the autumn session the Western countries sought to improve the neutrals' proposals in Madrid.

They did so in view of experience in Poland, the growing restrictions imposed by the East Bloc countries on reuniting families, the persecution and dissolution of groups set up in Eastern Europe to monitor progress on the Helsinki accords and the disconnection of direct-dialling telephone services with the Soviet Union.

The West is keen to incorporate more specific terms to protect the free activity of trade unions and Helsinki groups, economic and cultural self-determination for all nations, freedom of belief and to end jamming of broadcasts to the Eastern Bloc.

The new Soviet chief delegate, Mr Kovalev, bore the accusations levelled at Moscow by Western and neutral countries in connection with Soviet policies in Poland and Afghanistan and other breaches of the Helsinki Final Act with much greater equanimity than his easily upset predecessor, Mr Ilyichev.

This difference in temperament and tactics played its part in making the course of the autumn round of talks in Madrid less unruly.

The second major item on the Madrid agenda is drafting a mandate, or catalogue of topics to be discussed at a conference on disarmament in Europe.

The aim is to make further headway on confidence-building measures in the military sector, a number of which, such as advance notice of manoeuvres and the exchange of manoeuvre observers, were included in the Helsinki accords.

But they are mostly voluntary and in no way binding. Besides, the prior announcement of manoeuvres may be a confidence-building measure; it may also as in Poland's case, be an instrument of intimidation.

The Western countries would like to see a catalogue of measures agreed that make sense, are obligatory and verifiable.

Views still differ on the area they are to cover. The West insists on all Europe; the Soviet Union on the inclusion of an unspecified but substantial area of the Atlantic and its air space.

In June 1981 the West said it was prepared to include adjacent maritime areas, in other words, coastal and adjacent waters; but only in respect of military movements that were subject to notification on land.

That would mean that Reforger exercises by the US forces would be notifiable, whereas US fleet movements in the Atlantic or US troop convoys bound for the Middle East or the Indian Ocean would not.

This distinction must surely indicate a Soviet bid to make a European disarmament conference serve purposes extending beyond Europe.

A European disarmament conference under the Helsinki aegis would inevitably be mixed up with the East-West conflict.

That is why the Western powers want the conference's terms of reference to be as detailed as possible on the area confidence-building measures are to cover so as to rule out trouble over subsequent negotiations.

The Soviet Union would prefer as indeterminate a mandate as possible so as to prejudice nothing.

The neutral and non-aligned countries are increasingly wondering whether they ought to be in favour of a conference at which they would have nothing to give and could expect to get nothing.

They show clearer signs of wanting to bring the Madrid conference to a close; it has dragged on for two years as it is.

Is the Soviet Union playing for time? If it is, the result may be an inconclusive one, as at Belgrade. It could also be the establishment of the Helsinki review conference as a permanent gathering.

That would be an aim on which the Soviet Union has been keen from the start, whereas the West and the neutral countries have from the outset shown no enthusiasm.

Günther Gillessen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 5 February 1983)

North-South report on common crisis

New political concepts are generally shortlived. Until recently the call for a New International Economic Order formed part of every international gathering.

It is now no longer mentioned, not even by the Brandt Commission. The high-flying plans outlined in its first report, Strategy for Survival, published in 1979, have foundered on unremitting reality. Differences in interest between the industrialised and developing countries have made agreement of any kind out of the question. The 1981 Cancún North-South summit failed to achieve results, as did the UN conference.

In its second report the Brandt Commission, chaired by SPD leader, former Bonn Chancellor and Nobel peace laureate Willy Brandt, has taken the hint and made do with practical proposals for coping with the Common Crisis.

Utopian cures are not the answer to the collapse of the existing international economic order the commission fears may occur, especially as the Third World has lost its spearhead now the Opec cartel has collapsed.

What now matters is to prevent financial collapse by many Third World countries and forestall their further pauperisation.

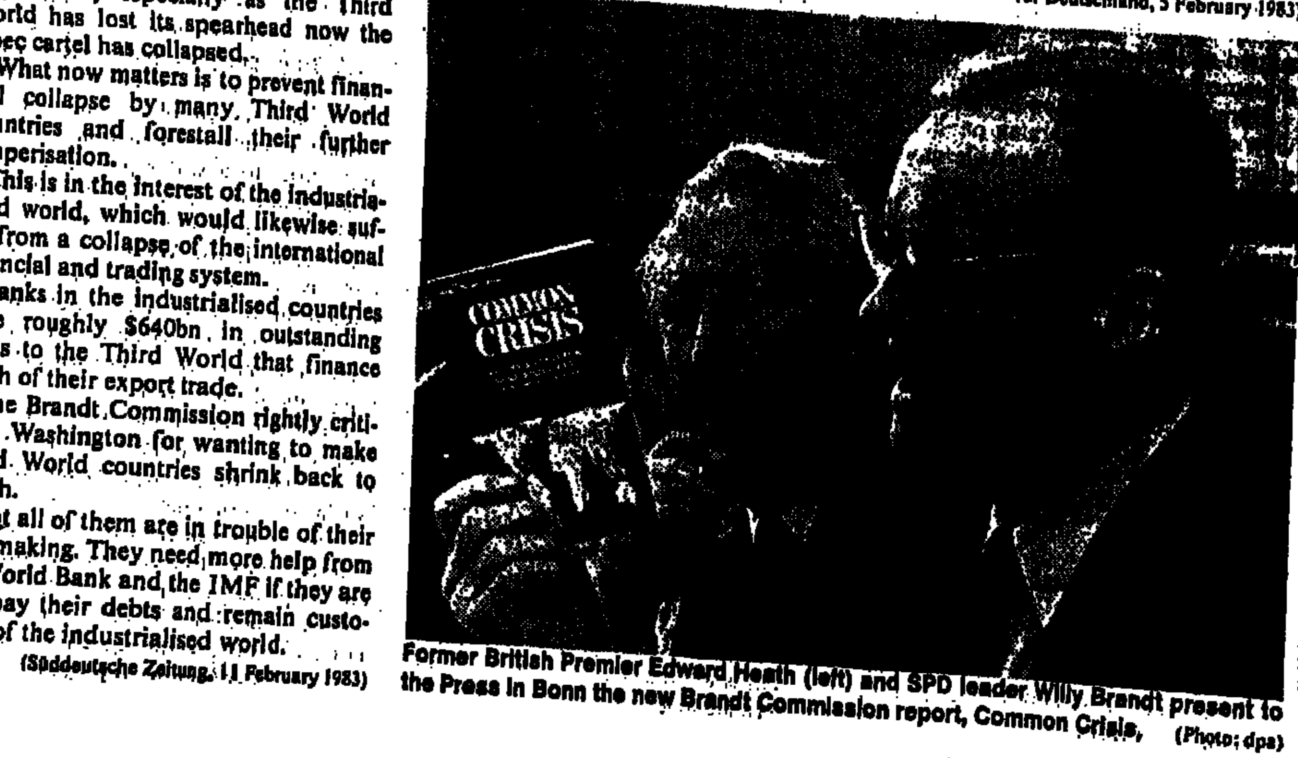
This is in the interest of the industrialised world, which would likewise suffer from a collapse of the international financial and trading system.

Banks in the industrialised countries have roughly $640bn in outstanding loans to the Third World that finance much of their export trade.

The Brandt Commission rightly criticises Washington for wanting to make Third World countries shrink back to health.

Not all of them are in trouble of their own making. They need more help from the World Bank and the IMF if they are to repay their debts and remain customers of the industrialised world.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 February 1983)



Former British Premier Edward Heath (left) and SPD leader Willy Brandt present to the Press in Bonn the new Brandt Commission report, Common Crisis. (Photo: dpa)



Israel owns to its shar[e] of the blam[e]

The findings and recomme[ndations] of the Israeli commission o[f enqui]ry into responsibility for the m[assacre] carried out by Lebanese milit[ia in] Palestinian refugee camps nea[r Beirut] last September came as no surp[rise].

The verdict bore out the imp[ression] of incredible irresponsibility on [the part] of Israeli civilian and military [authori]ties in connection with the massa[cre].

But the light it shines on Isra[el is by] no means unremittingly gloom[y. The] enquiry was undertaken against [the wishes] of powerful government opinion [and under] pressure from the general public.

It as carried out with a will to [get] at the truth without the least att[empt at] whitewashing and reached a con[clusion] that was extremely embarrassing [for Is]rael.

That it took place nonetheless [shows] that Israel is a working democr[acy that] boasts a working constitutional [govern]ment.

It has remained true to its [own] view of itself and not degenerat[ed into] rule by a progressively more [uncontrol]lable clique of military men wh[o control] the political set-up and politici[ans who] think solely in military terms.

Where else in the Middle Ea[st would] such a commission of enqui[ry have] been set up and have reached [such a] conclusion?

A number of senior Israeli o[fficials] emerge from the enquiry with the[ir co]pybooks blotted, but a poi[nt] often forgotten is here worth re[...]

It was a matter of Israel's shar[e of] blame and moral responsibility [...] of omission and commission, d[...] tually criminal failure to imagin[e what] would happen if Lebanese mili[tiamen] thirsting for vengeance, were a[llowed] inside the Palestinian camps.

It was not one of direct and p[ersonal] guilt for the bloodshed; Israelis d[id not] do the killing.

Israeli leaders have only the[mselves] to blame for the severity by [which] world opinion has judged their [share of] the blame.

The need to forestall such m[...] was one reason put forward by [Is]raelis for their occupation of we[st Bei]rut.

Israel was clearly interested in [...] the militias spread fear and [...] among the remaining Palestinia[ns to] encourage them to leave the Leba[non].

But that is not to say that any re[spon]sible Israeli official approvingly [...] risk of massacres of this magnitud[e].

(Frankfurter Allgemeine [Zeitung] für Deutschland, 9 Febru[ary 1983])

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GENERAL ELECTION

Spectre of a Red and Green majority haunts SPD

[P]olls still show the Social Democrats four to five per cent short of a ma[jori]ty in a two-party Bundestag (if CDU [and] CSU are counted as one).

[E]ven SPD leader Willy Brandt con[ce]des there is little likelihood of the [part]y gaining an absolute majority. But [he] adds that the hot phase of the cam[paig]n is still to come.

[S]PD general secretary Peter Glotz, [wh]ose job it is to be optimistic, puts the [odd]s of this coming true at three to one [ag]ainst.

The other possibility, that of achiev[in]g an arithmetical majority with the [Gr]eens has become a red and green [spe]ctre carefully nurtured by Christian [an]d Free Democrats.

The SPD leaders are going out of [th]eir way to ensure that it remains [ex]actly that, just a fleshless ghost, trying [t]o keep the Greens below the five per [c]ent mark needed for representation in [P]arliament.

The Social Democrats are well aware [of] the fact that they are the only alter[na]tive for potential Green voters. [Sh]ould the Greens fail to poll five per [ce]nt about half of the votes they poll [wo]uld indirectly benefit the Christian [De]mocrats.

Another reason for trying to keep the [G]reens out of the Bundestag is that if [th]e CDU and CSU fall short of the ab[s]olute majority and the FDP fails to re[tur]n to the Bundestag and is replaced by [the] Greens, the Social Democrats will be [in] deep water on their own party unity.

A party that, like the SPD, only a [ye]ar ago had a popularity rating of only [...] per cent and then went through the [tra]uma of being ousted from government will be tempted to pursue its return to power by any conceivable means, given only half a chance.

Should Shadow Chancellor Hans-Jochen Vogel manage to convert the 42 or 43 per cent pollsters now give him into actual votes he would have achieved a remarkable success.

But satisfaction within the party could soon turn into factionalism and disputes over whether or not to try and come to terms with the Greens.

Wasn't it Brandt who, after the Hesse election, spoke of a majority this side of the conservatives?

And is it not true that the further development of nuclear energy is a hotly disputed issue within the SPD camp?

Doesn't Egon Bahr call for an nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, not to mention Erhard Eppler and his theories?

The dispute with the SPD would be fierce. After all, the opponents of cooperation or a coalition with the Greens would also have valid arguments to put forward. Is it possible to govern with a majority you can never be sure of?

Have at least the minimum preconditions for cooperation been put on the line: recognition of the parliamentary rules of the game and renunciation of violence to both persons and property?

Hamburg and Hesse cannot be compared with Bonn. Hamburg's Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi (SPD) solved his problem of having to rely on the Greens by gaining an absolute majority in a repeat election.

Hesse's Prime Minister Holger Börner, also SPD, will have no choice but to go to the polls again too though his chances of a majority are slim. But at least bargaining with the Greens has gained him time.

Herr Vogel would be in a much worse position. He would first have to himself elected Chancellor by the Bundestag and once installed he would be hard pressed to get any Bill enacted.

Moreover, constant vetoing by the CDU/CSU majority in the Bundesrat would leave him little choice after six months or so but to go to the electorate and ask it to try again.

As a Chancellor who finally had to resign because the Greens played cat and mouse with him and the conservatives denied him any scope of action he would be in a highly unenviable position.

Such prospects make it understandable that the SPD leadership is trying to prevent finding itself in a situation where it would have to struggle with both parts of its own party and the Greens.

This is why the Social Democrats keep repeating their forecast of a two-party Bundestag, hoping that wishing will make it so.

Brandt and Vogel pin more hopes on this coming true than on a formal declaration to the effect that a coalition with the Greens is out of the question for them.

For one, such a statement would weaken their own contention that the Greens stand no chance and, for another, they realise that steering clear of an official decision on this issue would spare them a heated discussion within the party should an arithmetical Red-Green majority become feasible after all.

Hints, especially by Herr Vogel, that the SPD might have to tolerate a CDU/CSU minority government and thus ensure at least a minimum of political influence show a certain amount of statesmanship but if said outright they would strip the campaign of all verve.

Hans Reiser

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 11 Februar 1983)

FDP fights from one poll forecast to the next

[I]n its struggle for survival the FDP seems to be living between hope and despair as each successive opinion poll [o]n the possible outcome of the March [ge]neral election comes in.

The latest poll predicts that the FDP [wi]ll not make it but that Helmut Kohl [wi]ll continue to govern with an absolute [m]ajority.

This at least is the result arrived at in [po]lls by the Emnid Institute, Bielefeld, [fo]r the Hamburg news magazine *Der [Spi]egel.*

Asked the traditional question as to [ho]w they would vote if elections were [hel]d the next Sunday, the answers were:

- CDU/CSU 49 per cent;
- SPD 42 per cent;
- FDP 4 per cent;
- Greens 5 per cent.

In terms of seats this would give the [C]DU/CSU the absolute majority in the [Bu]ndestag.

The Mannheim-based Ipos Institute [g]ave the CDU/CSU only a slight edge [o]ver the SPD which, together with the [G]reens, would hold the majority in the [Bu]ndestag. Its results:

- CDU/CSU 45.1 per cent;
- SPD 44.4 per cent;
- FDP 4.8 per cent;
- Greens 5.2 per cent.

Only two days earlier, an Emnid poll [m]ade headlines. It gave the CDU/CSU [...] per cent, the SPD 42 per cent, the [F]DP 5 and the Greens also 5 per cent.

This would put the FDP back in the [Bu]ndestag, if it were not for the other [p]olls that see it differently.

Opinion researchers have been known to err, as in Hamburg where they predicted a neck-and-neck contest between SPD and CDU and were far off the mark. They could also be wrong on the general election.

Even so, all parties try to get guidance from the opinion polls just before an election. They use the results like drunks holding on to a lamp post, not for the light but simply to have something to hang on to.

Moreover, the polls have become a major campaign weapon, as demonstrated by the many posters and stickers. The research institutes, on the other hand, deny that they are being used in this manner.

They more than willingly provide their customers with samplings, for a consideration of course (mostly five-digit amounts).

Survey results have become an indispensable instrument for campaign strategists who use them to manipulate voters, confuse political opponents and encourage their own ranks.

It is not surprising that institutes that sympathise with the SPD give the Free Democrats only three per cent, thus foretelling their end as a Bundestag party.

Institutes leaning towards the present coalition give the FDP four to five per cent, encouraging the party to speak of an upward trend.

FDP strategists realise that only a four before the decimal point in polls can prompt wavering voters to give their second vote to the Liberals after all.

But the opinion researchers provide no dependable information. Polls (even those of the most well-established institutes) are only a snapshot of public opinion at the time.

Their margin of error (conceded by the institutes) is between one and two per cent and frequently more, as in the case of the Hamburg election.

This larger error usually occurs as the result of unpredictable events in the final phase of the campaign.

Werner Hackmann, who heads the Hamburg electoral commission, has called for safeguards to prevent the public from being manipulated by polls.

This would include not only giving the number of people interviewed but also the number of those who actually answered the questions put to them.

Only with such information can the public see whether individual institutes have doctored their results for lack of concrete answers.

Einar Koch

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 7 February 1983)

CSU states its case

Bavaria's CSU was the last of the parties in the Bundestag to hold its campaign congress, a Franz Josef Strauss supershow.

Although he is Prime Minister of Bavaria, Herr Strauss has kept his options for Bonn wide open.

He told the meeting that the election could not be won with polemics alone and that clear issue-related arguments were needed.

Strauss's two-hour address to the 250 delegates was a masterpiece of oratory.

He provided the campaigners with ample arguments for the election which, he said, would determine the nation's destiny until the year 2000.

Even if one does not wholly agree with the CSU leader's views on the deployment in Germany of the new generation of American Euromissiles, there can be no denying that his arguments are noteworthy.

He views the deployment decision as part of European-American partnership. As he puts it, if the Europeans in general and Germany in particular rejected a possible deployment of Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles they would not trigger an instant Soviet attack.

They would trigger a process of estrangement from the USA that would make Europe increasingly subject to blackmail by the Soviet Union. The USA would always be able to defend itself against the USSR.

The CSU platform clearly shows the party's determination to emphasise more than hitherto its claim to being the true conservative force in the country, more so than its sister party, the CDU.

This is, of course, an act of self-assertion aimed at underscoring the CSU's position in the Bonn Cabinet.

The emphasis is put on more internal security, a tougher policy towards aliens and a review of Bonn's development aid policy that would provide assistance only to Third World countries friendly to Germany.

An interesting point is the reaffirmation of the demand to hang on to the Interior Ministry should there be another coalition with the FDP.

The CSU naturally opposes the Free Democrats' bid for second votes. But apart from this, the Liberals were treated with moderation and the charges of co-responsibility for the nation's current woes have been all but dropped.

The impression is that Strauss no longer reckons with the FDP, concentrating instead on the SPD and its candidate Hans-Jochen Vogel. The target of the CSU's attack is, in fact, not so much the SPD as Vogel personally.

Franz Fegeler

(Nordwest Zeitung, 7 February 1983)

Continued from page 1

budget through Congress and approved by US public opinion they are running the risk of losing an ally.

Could it be that military coupling of Germany and the United States by means of new nuclear missiles could trigger political decoupling?

The answer to this question is not to be found by waging psychological warfare on a section of German public opinion.

Why are Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles suddenly the sole guarantee of coupling? This is a question that cannot lightly be brushed aside.

Dieter Schröder

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 14 February 1983)

■ PEOPLE

Bonn Home Minister belies reputation

Friedrich Zimmermann as Interior Minister was arguably the greatest surprise to befall Bonn in the eventful autumn of 1982.

Could he pull it off? Had the Christian Democrats not, in giving him the job, laid an explosive charge in their coalition with the Free Democrats?

Had his appointment not presented opponents of the new coalition with what must have seemed a heaven-sent opportunity?

Was Dr Zimmermann not an even more attractive target for attack in the new government than Franz Josef Strauss, so long the whipping boy of German politics?

Herr Strauss had been the whipping boy for so long that more and more people had lost interest in both the whipping and the man himself.

Events took a different turn. The Free Democrats accepted the replacement of their own Gerhart Baum as Interior Minister by Dr Zimmermann of the CSU.

Right-wing and middle-of-the-road FDP leaders found the dismissal of Herr Baum by no means as inconvenient as they claimed.

FDP left-wingers were hopping mad but unable to gain the upper hand because the balance of power in the party had changed to their detriment.

The Social Democrats and their media supporters could hardly believe their eyes and ears as Dr Zimmermann, an opponent they could hardly have welcomed more in such a key post, studiously avoided giving offence.

It began with the new Interior Minister carrying on with his predecessor's environmental policies as though they were a matter of course.

In conventional home affairs, on the other hand, he exercised restraint, tell-



Friedrich Zimmermann
(Photo: Poly-Press)

ing people who asked him what policies he planned to pursue that he must first consider the facts.

After due consideration he would then be going ahead with what he felt was appropriate and feasible, he said. That gained him time.

No-one can say for sure whether Dr Zimmermann will retain the home affairs portfolio if the Christian Democrats are returned to power in the polls next month (always assuming a general election is held).

No-one can tell which way the voting will go, and if the conservatives retain power there is sure to be a Cabinet reshuffle.

Yet even if Dr Zimmermann's tenure of the Interior Ministry were to end in a few weeks' time he could look back on his performance with satisfaction.

He has stood the test of Cabinet office in Bonn. That in itself is nothing new; he has so far passed every political test and successfully taken up every challenge in his career.

As general secretary of the Christian Social Union, the CDU's Bavarian ally, he transformed a loosely-knit group of politically-motivated people into an effective political party.

As chairman of the Bundestag defence committee he was an authority respected by political adversaries and military experts alike.

As leader of the CSU in the Bonn Bundestag he was an energetic and level-headed floor leader.

On the crisis staff set up to handle the abduction of Hanns-Martin Schleyer, the Cologne employers' leader, by urban guerrillas in autumn 1977 he was noted for his sang-froid and the precision of his thinking.

At the helm of the CDU/CSU in the Bundestag he and Herr Kohl, the CSU leader, ensured there was a constant balance between the two parties.

These achievements testified to a keen intelligence, to uncommon political instinct and to a desire for power Dr Zimmermann has never denied.

But the secret of his success is his self-control. He never lets himself go. Even in a small and intimate group he is never tempted to say anything he does not intend to say.

He may dislike others on his side of the political fence but he manages to prevent personal dislikes from coming to a head for years, if not decades.

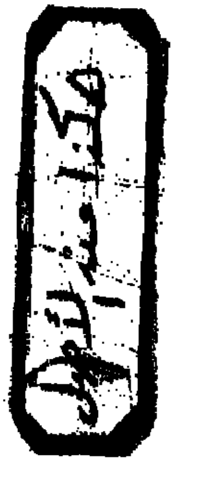
This tends to make a man of upper middle-class Munich stock seem untypical of a Bavarian to some. He certainly conveys an impression of being a cool customer.

In many respects Friedrich Zimmermann is the exact opposite of Franz Josef Strauss, but that was the only way he was able to emerge as Herr Strauss's foremost political associate and retain the distinction.

Johann Georg Reissmüller

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 10 February 1983)

New Premier faces tough task in Kiel



Uwe Barschel

For the past 100 days the unwritten rules of the political close period have been in abeyance in Schleswig-Holstein.

Uwe Barschel has been state Premier in Kiel since 14 October 1982, when Gerhard Stoltenberg left to serve as Finance Minister in Bonn.

But he has been unable to rely on the 100 days' grace normally given because state assembly elections were due to be held this March.

With an election campaign in the offing, gestures of goodwill on the Opposition's part were virtually limited to congratulations on the day he took over from Professor Stoltenberg.

Most state Premiers new to the job have been able to gain experience in their own good time. But this time it was different.

It was not a mid-term change planned well in advance but an unexpected transition with six months to go to general elections.

What was more, it took place in Kiel at a time when the overall political climate in Bonn was in a state of flux. So the twofold election campaign looked like being a tough proposition for all concerned.

Last but not least, unemployment took a turn for the worse last autumn, and Schleswig-Holstein, being somewhat off the beaten track in the far north of Germany, seemed sure to be harder hit than other parts of the country. Barschel's policy was one of continuity combined with new accents, but it came in for stiff opposition from the start.

The mainstay of his programme, on which criticism was concentrated, was a DM421m package designed to boost investment and create new jobs, as well as safeguarding existing ones.

The main objection to the package was that it relied on too much outside cash. The Social Democrats in Schleswig-Holstein are thus trying to turn the tables on Professor Stoltenberg's 1980 line of argument.

In the 1980 general election campaign the CDU Finance Minister, as he now is, argued that the SPD-led Bonn government was too heavily indebted.

The Schleswig-Holstein SPD now claims the CDU state government is relying on too much borrowed money. The aim is to throw Dr Barschel on to the defensive.

But Barschel is a fighter. As CDU leader in the state assembly he survived no-holds-barred debates without as much as a scratch.

He counters criticism by claiming that fresh issues and fresh problems call for fresh solutions, unpleasant though they might seem to the Social and Free Democrats.

But what else could Dr Barschel have done given the gloomy outlook for the state's shipyards in Kiel and elsewhere?

A shot in the arm for the shipyards is a keynote of the investment package designed, as the Premier puts it, to ensure that Schleswig-Holstein gets its fair share of the economic upswing.

So Opposition criticism is not whole-

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Frank Dahrendorf
(Photo: S...

SPD Vogel campaign manager

Social Democrat Frank Dah... and his brother Ralf Dah... the prominent Free Democrat, ... sonal friends and political fo... veral pairs of brothers in Germ... tics.

They include Hans-Jochen V... SPD Shadow Chancellor, and B... Vogel, the CDU Premier ... Rhineland-Palatinate.

Richard von Weizsäcker, th... mayor of Berlin, and Carl Frie... Weizsäcker, the philosopher an... ber of Hans-Jochen Vogel's bra... are another instance.

They all go to show that poli... fairs in the Federal Republic of G... ny are not so dominated by part... cal rivalry as to tear fraternal... apart.

Frank Dahrendorf, the organis... coordinator of Hans-Jochen Vog... neral election campaign, feels th... ly has its contribution to make ... political life.

He and his brother owe their ... origins to their father, an SPD ... tag deputy and leader of the co... tive movement who died in 1954.

Their father was sentenced to ... years in prison for his resistance ... Nazi regime in the aftermath of th... 1944 failed bid to assassinate Hitl...

Brother Ralf, a sociology don ... LSE in London and a rising star ... the Free Democrats, was a Social ... ocrat before switching allegiance ... FDP.

Frank and Ralf agree that the ... phere at the family home was a ... one. Berlin-born Franz, 48, says h... on unusually well with elder b... Ralf, 53, considering the differe... age between them.

Yet they seem poles apart, po... because of the different courses ... careers have taken. Frank is the ... reserved of the two.

He is a practising lawyer and ... who can afford to put in a four-... campaign stint on Hans-Jochen V... behalf without charging even the ... bolic dollar for his services.

He has rented an apartment in ... Honnef, near Bonn, for the camp... and says it is supposed to be a ...

Continued on page 8

LABOUR

Bonn steps up the war on unemployment during German term in EEC chair

...nemployment is to be given priori-...ty by Bonn during its chairman-... of the EEC Council of Ministers in ...irst half of 1983.

...abour Minister Norbert Blüm will ...e the EEC Council of Social Affairs ...nisters to vigorously work towards ...implementation of a project ham-...d out by Germany's employers as-...tions.

...o far the scheme has been steadfast-...pposed by Economic Affairs Minis-... Count Lambsdorff. It is to cut ...employment by working less.

In purely arithmetical terms, 2.5 mil-...n of the Community's 11.5 million ...bless could find work if the whole ...rk force were to work one hour less a ...eek, says a memorandum the EEC ...ommission presented just before ...hristmas.

It stresses, however, that realities and ...ithmetic do not tally and that the ac-...al effect would be much smaller.

Ivor Richard, Britain's Labour social ...fairs commissioner at the EEC, says ... the memorandum that hours worked ...ould be cut by eight to 12 per cent in ...l EEC countries over the next four ...ars.

But the Commission as a whole delet-... this passage from the memorandum. This was probably prompted by the

Frankfurter Rundschau

fact that EEC heads of government, who met in Copenhagen late last November, had decided that the Council of Ministers should assess the effects of new working time regulations without taking any action.

The European Trade Union Federation has been dealing with the problem of a better distribution of existing work since 1978, long before the tide of unemployment hit Germany in 1981.

But since the unions demand that working times be shortened on full pay the move has consistently been opposed by Common Market employers.

British employers were the exception here because they found that shorter working times also meant less absenteeism and higher productivity.

But shorter working times in Britain did not result in jobs for the unemployed. On the contrary.

Having made a similar experience and worried about competitiveness, France's Socialist government stopped its drive to reduce work weeks to 35 hours when it reached the 39-hour mark.

In its memorandum, based on a number of projections made in several EEC countries, the Commission arrives at the following conclusions.

Most companies would offset small reductions in working times through further rationalisation without hiring more staff.

The investment needed to rationalise would not result in more employment in the capital goods industry, at least not from one day to the next.

Cuts in working times in individual branches of industry or in some countries only would entail two dangers if they were implemented on the basis of fully adjusted wages — i.e. less work for the same money.

Either competitiveness would suffer and thus endanger existing jobs in the long run, or the companies concerned would be forced to rationalise, and this would again mean fewer jobs.

Shorter working times for proportionately less pay could create additional jobs if it made the company concerned more competitive and if it had no problems finding buyers for its goods or services.

But since shorter working times would result in higher productivity the need for additional staff would be limited.

One of the main union arguments against pay cuts in return for shorter working times, the reduced buying power of the work force and hence dwindling demand for consumer goods and services, has been rebutted in the memorandum.

The rebuttal is based on various projections made in a number of EEC countries that show shorter working times for less money would also mean less stoppages in the form of tax and social security contributions.

This would mean the take-home pay would decline less than gross pay.

The result would be a drop in public sector and social security revenues because the number of new jobs thus created would not rise correspondigly and so relieve public coffers of the expense of maintaining the jobless.

These reasons led to the decision to delete the passage recommended by Ivor Richard.

The conclusion reached by the Commission is that only a drastic cutback in working times throughout the Community and in one fell swoop would result in a reduction of unemployment.

In other words, the cutback in working times must be so heavy and sudden as to prevent industry from making up for it through higher productivity and rationalisation.

This, too, has its pitfalls. The Commission itself concedes that a shortening of the working day from eight to six hours or a correspondingly shorter working week or year could only be implemented if handled flexibly.

As the Commission sees it, the wor-

Continued on page 6

How less work can mean more jobs — Blüm

...onn Labour Minister Norbert Blüm, ...U, says in this interview with the ...nz *Allgemeine Zeitung* why he fa-...ours early retirement and plans to ...lough staff cash into company invest-...ent schemes.

...estion: The worst unemployment ...nce the 1950s has generated pressure ... redistribute work. As a result, politi-...l discussion now revolves around ...horter working times as a remedy.

For the employers this is taboo and ...ey adamantly stick to their demand ...r wage moderation to generate profits ...d hence investments. Are investments ...ough to reduce unemployment?

...swer: Taboos won't get us anywhere. ...horter working times are as sure to ...me as the amen in church. I am ...inking primarily of shorter working ...es.

Still, anybody who thinks that the ...s unemployment problem can be ...ved through shorter working times ...ne is wrong.

We must also and above all ensure ...t there is more work to go around. ...d to bring this about we need growth.

The new coalition's emergency pro-...mme has drafted the course, and ...re are more and more signs that ...ngs are picking up.

Demands for shorter working times ...d the employers' demand for improv-... conditions to stimulate investment ...e not mutually exclusive.

On the contrary, what we need now is ...r the trade unions, the employers and ...e state to get together at the bargain-...g table and agree on the right mea-...res. I therefore support Chancellor ...ohl's initiative to bring this about ... an effort to tackle the nation's num-...r one problem.

The German Trade Union Federa-...n is committed to fighting unemploy-...ent through a shorter work week. The ...im is a 35-hour week.

Chairman Ernst Breit has conceded that a shorter work week is a cost factor and that this must be taken into account in collective bargaining.

Does this mean that he has dropped his demand for full wage adjustment (less work for the same pay)? How come the Bonn government prefers shorter working lives?

A: In terms of the national economy there is no such thing as shorter working times gratis. The trade unions are aware of this.

Labour and management must come to an agreement as to how much of the pay hike they are prepared to put into shorter working times.

Negotiations on shorter working weeks, and this brings me to your second question, are something to be thrashed out by the parties to collective bargaining.

I do, however, believe that a shorter working week would have the least effect on the labour market and that it would even have a negative effect on small and medium-sized companies.

The last thing we want is to make life hard for the small businessman. What we want is to make it easier for him to survive. We need small businesses for the sake of the workers.

Most of our work force is employed in this type of business, and their jobs must be safeguarded.

So far as the state's role is concerned, it can most effectively provide support in a move to shorten working lives. As a result, I intend to concentrate on this type of shorter working time, especially as this would have the greatest effect on the labour market.



Norbert Blüm
(Photo: Sven Simon)

Q: The government's annual economic report speaks of this intention in concrete terms, offering to thrash it out with the parties to collective bargaining.

Your Ministry is already drafting a bill that would enable workers to retire voluntarily at the age of 58. How do you intend to finance this?

As you thinking of the Döding Plan whereby half the additional cost is to be met by the parties to collective bargaining; and are the workers to forgo part of their annual pay hike?

A: The government is working on this. We cannot achieve in mere weeks what our predecessors omitted to do over the years. We're working on a solution at full speed.

But we need the cooperation of the parties to collective bargaining, and Günter Döding is one of the most imaginative unionists.

The financing cannot be arranged without the unions and the employers. One of the possible models is for younger workers to forgo part of their wage increases to finance the early retirement of the older ones who are prepared to vacate their jobs for younger people.

Two points are obvious. Shorter working lives must not be at the expense of the social security pensions funds; and any arrangement that is arrived at must ensure that premature retirement is voluntary.

Q: After the general election the government wants to promote legislation for workers' participation in the nation's productive capital.

This is to ensure social symmetry in times of rising industrial incomes and at the same time boost investments.

But there is no overlooking the pitfalls in view of the opposition by both labour and management. How do you intend to cut this Gordian knot?

A: I'm not as pessimistic as you are. My impression is that the unions are beginning to realise that the policy of mere nominal wage hikes has reached its limit.

I don't think there's any knot for me to cut. The knot will untie itself of its own accord. The capital accumulation law we intend to pass in the next legislative period will promote this development.

After all, industry's liquid assets are not something that concerns business only. They equally concern the work force and the trade unions.

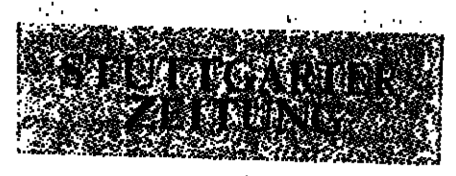
The more liquid funds a company has, the sounder it is commercially and the safer the jobs. Investments should not only serve rationalisation; they should also serve to make a better product.

Günter Kleer

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 5 February 1983)

■ ECONOMY

Hopes of improvement but 2.5m out of work



Latest economic indicators are too conflicting to permit a clear forecast. Even so, further deterioration on the labour market and the clear rise in demand as reflected in industry's order books do not come as a surprise.

Bonn Labour Minister Norbert Blüm (CDU) has termed the latest jobless figure of 2.5 million a disaster. Criticism of rising unemployment is justified though there is now more hope of a gradual improvement in the economic position.

But only campaigning politicians seem to be able to distil a forecast from the available bundle of indicators.

In its latest annual economic report released a couple of weeks ago, Bonn speaks of noticeable progress and Chancellor Helmut Kohl recently referred to unmistakable initial successes of his government's new fiscal and economic policy. He spoke of justifiable optimism.

Though the Labour Minister termed the joblessness a disaster that called for solidarity with those afflicted by it, he also called on the nation to have faith in the new government whose programme would bring about an upturn.

The SPD Opposition, on the other hand, maintains that the change of government has exacerbated the crisis, saying that a further decline will be inevitable without economic booster measures to be financed by deficit spending.

The overall picture is confusing. Yet our economic and fiscal policy makers still have to assess the further course of the economy based on conflicting indicators and take action accordingly.

Despite unemployment that is likely to deteriorate still further by election time in March, Bonn holds that there is no need for additional measures such as a medium term employment programme as called for by the Social Democrats. The present government has termed the SPD demand harmful actionism.

The annual economic report, expressly presented as a fiscal and social government programme for the centre-right coalition expected to continue after the elections, justifies the government's stance, saying that change for the better has been ushered in.

It is true that conditions for an upturn have been improved, some of this improvement having come from the previous government.

The fact is that billions have been put aside for housing construction and that business in this sector has improved in an amazingly short time.

But the indicators show that this has not yet generated new jobs. There is much to indicate that business has picked up but that ultimate success will take its time.

Its failure to materialise immdiately must therefore not be held against the government's programme.

The vaunted positive signs are not necessarily harbingers of an upturn. But they should not be ignored either. The competitiveness of German industry on world markets improved considerably in 1982.

Washington and Tokyo expect world trade to expand and this usually benefits Germany's export-oriented industry.

Moreover, Germany's success in fighting inflation has given the Bundesbank more scope for interest rate reductions which in turn must boost business.

Polls among business executives show a growing optimism, quite apart from the fact that the order books are beginning to swell again after a three-year decline.

Preliminary evaluations of the indicators show that the usual surge in orders towards the end of the year has this time not been followed by a slump in January.

Optimism in forecasting further developments would seem in order now if this were matched by confidence that the current economic and fiscal policy would be continued.

Unfortunately, the campaign is accompanied by mudslinging and allegations that the Social Democrats want to introduce more government controls for business.

The counter-allegation is that the CDU is redistributing wealth from the have-nots to the haves, making for insecurity, thus retarding the upswing.

Frank J. Eichhorn

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 4 February 1983)

World trade down again, experts say

World trade will continue to decline in the first half of this year. But growth impulses are likely to gain the upper hand around the middle of the year, forecasts the HWWA Institute for Economic Research in Hamburg.

The world trade volume for 1983 will be somewhat lower than in 1982, making for the fourth year of stagnation.

Between 1960 and 1973 world trade grew at an annual rate of eight per cent.

Due to the critical situation of oil and raw materials exporting countries, any change for the better will have to come from the industrial world, says HWWA.

The first impulses are likely to materialise in the next few months in the USA because America's imports are likely to pick up due to the high dollar exchange rate and the gradual rise in domestic demand.

The rise of imports in the other industrial countries will be somewhat slower due to generally weak demand.

But things are likely to improve in the second half of the year.

One of the worst bugbears for world trade is the high foreign debt of many countries. The Hamburg economists hold that the necessary consolidation measures will lead to further import restrictions, especially in the oil importing developing countries.

This will be more pronounced the longer raw materials earnings remain low due to the recession in the industrial world.

dpa/VWD

(Die Welt, 7 February 1983)

Less work

Continued from page 5

-kers would not easily adjust to a sudden and major change in their way of life. But on the other hand only a drastic across-the-board shortening of working times would lead to solidarity with the jobless.

Another model put forward in the memorandum is more questionable.

This model suggests that industry replace its present eight-hour working day by two shifts of six hours and thus make better use of its production facilities.

Since much of the Community's industry is already operating below capacity for lack of demand, it would seem illusory to hope that the same industry could work profitably for 12 hours a day instead of the present eight.

Even if the work force were to agree to less pay and forfeit 25 per cent of its gross wages, it is questionable whether the per unit price of the employer's product would drop correspondingly and whether he would find a ready market for it.

The Commission also suggests drastic cutbacks in working times at less than a full corresponding pay reduction and subsidies from government unemployment funds that would theoretically be offset by a lesser amount paid to the jobless.

The memorandum does not mention certain other problems like the full autonomy of the parties to collective bargaining that exists in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Even so, the memorandum has provided the trade unions and the employers with a basis for discussion.

In view of the 11.5 million jobless in the Community they should get on with it with the objective of arriving at concrete decisions.

National attempts at solving the problems are likely to founder on the disadvantages they would entail in competing in the Common Market.

An interesting aspect here is that the working year in the ten Community nations differs much less than working weeks would suggest.

"Unemployment is unlikely to be licked by shorter working times, the memorandum seems to say. But there can be little doubt that paring down working times will reduce the number of jobless and, above all, prevent further layoffs.

The memorandum substantiates this by citing individual companies that have drastically pared down their working times.

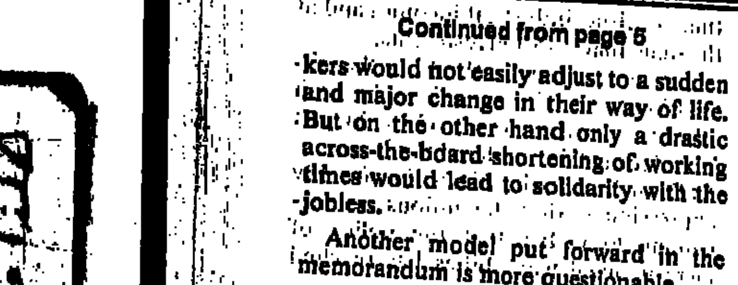
Another approach suggested by the Commission is more part-time work. The EEC Council of Ministers has come up with guidelines aimed at eliminating discrimination against part-time workers.

Another set of guidelines for temporary work is now ready to be presented.

It remains to be seen whether the German chairmanship of the Council of Ministers will succeed in bringing preliminary moves to fruition.

Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 2 February 1983)



German goo[ds] sell bette[r] than ever

Official foreign trade stati[stics] prove the carefully nurtu[red con]tention that German business i[s] its competitiveness on inte[rnational] markets.

1982, statistics show, was a [...] year for Germany's exporters [...] outstripped imports by DM51[...] trade surplus unique in this c[ountry's] post-war history.

The 1981 balance of trade in [Germa]ny's favour was thus almost d[oubled] last year, primarily because th[e growth of] exports outstripped the growth [of im]ports.

For the first time in three ye[ars Ger]many's exports were sufficien[t to pull] the nation's balance of p[ayments] (which includes transfers) out o[f the red] and even create a surplus.

The contention frequently [...] the past few years that the Ge[rmans were] living beyond their means has t[hus been] disproved along with the c[ontention] that German suppliers find i[t harder] and harder to compete on wo[rld mar]kets.

The opposite is true. Germa[n expor]ters have become the envy of th[eir com]petitors.

The flood of exports from th[is coun]try has turned into an embarr[assment] for industries abroad where de[mand is] declining.

This has led to calls for i[mport bar]riers against the successful G[erman] goods, and that includes other C[ommon] Market countries.

Proud though Germany's [...] may be of last year's *Export* [...] past figures should not lull [...] false sense of security for the fu[ture].

Many of this country's foreig[n custo]mers are so hard hit by the wor[ld reces]sion as to be almost unable to [...] money for imports.

To make matters worse, [...] unemployment everywhere also [...] calls for protectionist measure[s ...] main victim would be Germany [...] its heavy export dependence.

But protectionist measures [...] the only threat to Germany's po[sition as] the world's champion exporte[r ...] competition is also trying to kee[p Ger]many from domestic markets.

Industry must step up its eff[orts if] Germany is to retain its champi[onship]. Only improved and new produ[cts can] weather growing competition.

Those who are caught nappi[ng ...] have to opt out of the market [as de]monstrated by Germany's photo [indus]try.

By the same token, those w[ho are] imaginative will stand their [ground] against the competition, as demo[nstrat]ed by the German auto indus[try ...] warding off Japanese competition.

But economic policy makers [...] not rely on exports once more o[ffset] at least part of the lack of domes[tic de]mand. There are too many impo[ndera]bles.

Still, Germany's export busine[ss ...] managed to get off to a good st[art ...] year. The balance of trade sur[plus ...] one of the positive "legacies" Ch[ancel]lor Helmut Kohl inherited from h[is pre]decessor.

Richard G[...]

(Die Zeit, 4 Febr[uary 1983])

AGRICULTURE

Farmers start to feel the pinch



[C]ompetition on the world's food markets has stiffened and German [far]mers, who have just shown their pro[duc]ts at Berlin's 48th International [Gre]en Week agricultural fair, are feeling the pinch. Fat export years with [gro]wth rates in double figures are clear[ly o]ver.

[T]he Central Marketing Agency for [Far]m Produce (CMA) in Bonn esti[mat]es that German food producers ex[por]ted goods worth DM22bn last year, [...] per cent up on 1981, when growth [wa]s 25 per cent.

The 4.2 per cent rise in the 1982 ton[nag]e sold (1981: 9.3 per cent) to a total [of] 21.3m tons (20.4) was largely due to [pri]ce cuts, says CMA's Claus Böcking. [Eve]n so, this growth outstripped the [acr]oss-the-board growth rate of the ex[po]rt business.

One reason for the poor performance [is] the high exchange rate of the deut[sch]emark, which has gained 8.5 per cent [on] the currencies of major trading part[ner]s.

Since 1957, when the European Eco[no]mic Community was launched, Germany has unexpectedly managed to stand its ground against such classic agricultural countries as Italy, France and Holland. Exports by the food industry more than quintupled between 1970 and 1982, and since 1970 Germany has risen from number 10 to number 4 world supplier of farm produce. Figures released by the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW), Berlin, show that some 500,000 jobs depend directly or indirectly on food production, though the cost to the taxpayer is heavy as a result of EEC farm subsidies. The Federal Republic of Germany is also a major food importer. Self-sufficiency, though varying from sector to sector, averages 75 per cent. About 15 per cent of output is exported.

Forty-five per cent of exports are meat and dairy products, the most important source of farm incomes. According to the CMA, 70 per cent of farm incomes come from livestock.

More than 50 per cent of German food imports come from other EEC countries. German exports to other Common Market members rose 7.3 per cent to DM13.9bn, an above-average growth rate.

Growth was most pronounced in exports to Italy where sales amounted to DM4.7bn, up 17.6 per cent against the previous year.

But there has been a marked decline in exports to the Middle East, formerly a growth market, due to dwindling oil revenues. Here, German exports were down 17.2 per cent to about DM1bn.

Iran has cut back 38 per cent to DM221m, and prospects are unlikely to improve, especially in the light of the foundered Opec conference in Geneva last month.

The popularity growth of German food is also pronounced in Spain. Spaniards bought DM88.1m worth of German food last year, up 13.7 per cent against the previous year.

German marketing strategists are already preparing for Spain's accession to the Community.

Says Böcking: "We've had one foot in the door for years and as soon as Spain becomes a member we'll get the other foot in as well." This strategy has proved its worth in Greece where German exports trebled in 1981 when that country joined the Community, reaching DM592m.

Yet Böcking's outlook for the future is bleak: "We must be satisfied if we manage to maintain the 1982 growth rate because there's no improvement in the world economy in sight and competition is bound to become fiercer."

In his opening address at the Berlin fair Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl warned of a murderous price war between the EEC and the USA. He said that the winner in such a war would be the East Bloc in general and the USSR in particular.

Heike Braun

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 4 February 1983)



Cheesecake: Bonn head of state Karl Carstens is welcomed to the Green Week agricultural fair in West Berlin. (Photo: dpa)

Farm incomes up again

Farm earnings were up 7.7 per cent in 1981/82 and are expected to have equalled this performance in the 1982/83 agricultural year, says the Ministry of Agriculture in Bonn. The increase will thus far outstrip the national average.

The positive forecast is largely due to the generally good harvest in 1982. The yield of wheat, fruit, vegetables and wine was markedly higher than in the previous year and there were record harvests for some crops.

Farmers' animal feed harvests were also good, enabling them to stock up on winter feed. The harvests of sugar beet and potatoes were poorer than in the previous year.

Experts at the Bonn Agriculture Ministry expect producer prices in 1982/83 to be roughtly the same as the year before.

Though prices for fruit, wine, vegetables, potatoes and sugar beet could drop, this would be offset by higher prices for milk, livestock and grain, which are the most important products of full-time farmers.

Farmers' costs are likely to go up three per cent in 1982/83. But there is unlikely to be much change in the quantities required.

It is also unlikely that farmers will have to buy more additional animal feed than lat year after such good harvests.

The 7.7 per cent rise in farm incomes per working family member in 1981/82 was not enough to offset the 12.6 per cent drop the previous year.

The German Farmers Association says farmers still have to make up for lost ground. Its forecast does not tally with Agriculture Ministry projections. The association's figure is only about three per cent.

On presenting the report, Agriculture Minister Josef Ertl told the Press that although industrial wages in 1981/82 had risen only 3.8 per cent, industrial workers earned an average of DM32,176 per annum, considerably more than the average farm income.

But agriculture experts say that comparisons of this nature prove little.

Incomes per farm rose by an average 5.9 per cent to DM28,587 in 1981/82. Over the past decade, incomes per family member working the farm rose by an annual average of 3.7 per cent and per farm by 4.2 per cent.

Incomes from part-time farming rose at roughly the same rate as those on full-time farms: up 5.5 per cent to DM16,615, making for a total family income of DM34,520.

Part-time farmers' incomes in 1981/82 were determined by rising farm and non-farm incomes in 1981/82, making for an average per family income of DM36,268, up 6.1 per cent.

Generally, farms in the north did better than in the south. While farms cultivating the same crops every year saw their profits up 49.2 per cent and processing operations showed a plus of 31.8 per cent, those growing feed crops showed only a slight rise of 3.2 per cent.

Fruit growers for the market showed lower incomes for the third year in a row (minus 4.6 per cent).

Hans-Jürgen Mahnke

(Die Welt, 3 February 1983)

■ NATO

No First Use calls for a more effective conventional Western deterrent



Nato has changed its military strategy from time to time over the years, but on one point defence policy-makers have not changed their minds.

There is still the threat of a conventional military attack on the North Atlantic pact developing into a nuclear clash as a result of Nato's deterrent strategy.

For over 30 years this strategy has ensured that despite enormous arms build-ups there has never been a military clash between the two blocs.

But there are growing fears in the West that the nuclear threat could, if the situation arose, lead to nuclear suicide by the countries concerned.

A group of US and European experts has published in several Western capitals a report calling on the United States to renounce first use of nuclear weapons.

The Union of Concerned Scientists includes former US Defence Secretary Robert S. McNamara, Kennedy's security adviser George F. Kennan and Britain's Field-Marshal Lord Carver.

They agree that the United States could not make any such declaration until after thorough preparation and deliberate strengthening of its conventional forces and those of the Western alliance.

But it would then in no way jeopardise the security of the United States and its allies. Indeed, it would considerably heighten it.

The starting point for their deliberations is the fear that Nato strategy, which is currently strongly based on the nuclear deterrent, might in some future crisis be obliged actually to resort to the nuclear option and trigger an atomic apocalypse.

So the alliance's aim must be to limit the nuclear deterrent to that of deterring a nuclear attack by the other side, whereas conventional attacks must be deterred by a corresponding conventional capacity.

In the past the Nato countries have rejected the Soviet offer of a reciprocal renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons.

Their argument is that the Warsaw Pact states' superiority in the conventional sector was so substantial that in the long run Nato could only resist it by means of nuclear weapons.

But the concerned scientists' report, outlined in Bonn by McGeorge Bundy, disputes the existence of such a substantial superiority on the Warsaw Pact's part.

It is said by no means to be so great as to ensure success in the event of an attack on Nato, certainly not if the Nato countries were swift to react.

The ratio is estimated to be between 1 to 1.5 and 1 to 1.7, whereas for defence purposes a ratio of two to one is sufficient.

Besides, Nato is far superior technologically, and in times of crisis the Warsaw Pact bears the burden of internal tension.

Western conventional deterrent capacity could and should be improved at relatively moderate expense: $100bn, or a real annual growth rate of roughly two per cent in military expenditure.

That would be enough to ensure both a credible deterrent and successful defence.

The emphasis must be on fortifications and obstacles along the border with the Warsaw Pact, on more underground hangars for aircraft and on an increase in supplies of ammunition and equipment.

This increase would be the most expensive improvement, being intended to ensure that Nato was able to wage conventional war for 30 days, as against the ccurrent fifteen.

The mobility of Nato forces is also to be improved, with equipment being laid on and at the ready for additional US forces in Europe.

Such far-reaching changes in Nato strategy will, or so the authors of the report hope, lead not only to a relaxation of tension in ties with the Soviet Union and to a substantial reduction in the risk of nuclear war.

They are also expected to improve cohesion within Nato, given that current strategy leads to tension and doubts among the Western allies.

A new strategy based on renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons naturally encounters strong misgivings in Nato.

There can be no denying that the existing deterrent strategy has prevented not only a nuclear clash between the superpowers but also a direct conventional conflict between them.

The threshold beyond which conflicts might be escalated to the stage of military confrontation would undoubtedly be lowered if the risk of nuclear weapons being used no longer applied.

Despite the appalling nature of conventional warfare today its consequences are more calculable than those of a nuclear clash.

It must naturally be borne in mind that in view of the frightful consequences of using nuclear weapons Nato would first try to limit hostilities to the conventional level.

So why, or so advocates of the nuclear deterrent argue, should the West dispense with the additional threat?

The report claims that doubts whether Nato would in fact go ahead with what amounted to a suicidal first strike undermined the credibility of its nuclear deterrent.

This is surely an argument that carries weight, although in view of the catastrophe a nuclear war would entail even a slight possibility of conventional warfare leading to nuclear hostilities would retain a powerful deterrent effect.

The report also notes that there is an inclination within Nato to rely on the nuclear deterrent and to neglect the conventional efforts that need putting in.

Assuming the deterrent were to fail to deter, that could lead to the West soon facing the decision whether to resort to nuclear weapons or not.

The 17 authors of the report conclude that it would be unrealistic to bank on sound and adequate conventional defences as long as one retained any idea of escalating conflict to the nuclear level.

In other words, politicians and military men are not going to do what needs to be done to ensure there is an adequate conventional deterrent capacity until the first use of nuclear weapons has been renounced.

A moot question is whether Nato is in a position to boost its conventional defence capacity sufficiently to rule out military clashes in the event of crisis.

The West's geographical position is definitely less favourable, especially if it is assumed that a conflict is to last any length of time.

The report does not gloss over the problems. It outlines them seriously and without the slightest trace of polemics.

The authors of the report are undoubtedly right in noting, in t[…] word, that nuclear war is no[…] extension of war to a highe[…] violence but an entirely new p[…]on.

No matter how much suffe[…] ventional war can cause it leav[…] peoples and structures with t[…] which mankind can regenerate[…]

Total nuclear war, on the oth[…] would destroy the people, ins[…] and cultures of the nations o[…] and damage the rest of the pla[…] unforeseeable but dangerous e[…]

Thomas Lö[…]

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 2 Fe[…])

Vogel's campaign manager

Continued from page 4

apartment, but doesn't spend much time there.

Yet Dahrendorf is not the type to call to mind the camp bed Hans-Jochen Vogel is said to have in his office, and he has been known to remind Herr Vogel that his services are provided voluntarily.

The two men made each other's acquaintance when Dahrendorf was Justice Senator in Hamburg and Vogel Justice Minister in Bonn.

In 1981 Herr Vogel appointed him Home Affairs Senator in Berlin when he was mayor of the divided city.

Dahrendorf had spent eight years as a state councillor, a kind of state secretary, in Hamburg, six at the home affairs department and two at the education department.

The latter, he ironically recalls, was a punishment posting to which he was transferred by Hamburg burgomaster Hans-Ulrich Klose.

But he shows no signs of ambitions over and above the desire to coordinate Herr Vogel's election campaign. He plans to return to Hamburg whatever the election outcome is.

His family seem to be chips off the old block. His wife is a former hockey player who was capped for Germany. He himself has served as chairman of the Hamburg Hockey Association.

His sons, aged 16 and 18, are politically aware, he says, but he hasn't asked his elder son which way he voted in Hamburg last December.

Is there any political friction between him and his sons? No, he claims; they are not a family given to friction. That may be one reason why he prefers not to become a full-time politician.

But that is not to say that Frank Dahrendorf is not an eminently suitable candidate for political office in either Berlin or Hamburg.

Helmut Herles

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 February 1983)

Plea to en[…] strategy for suicid[…]

No First Use, the report [of the] Union of Concerned S[…] makes three main contributio[…] security policy debate.

First, it is a crucial contr[…] the long overdue strategy deb[…] Western alliance.

The first use of nuclear we[…] at least the first use option, h[…] key feature of Nato's flexible [response] strategy for over 30 years.

The dangerous nature of t[…] doctrine, which they call a st[…] suicide, has prompted the a[…] pen their report.

They call for renunciation o[…] use option and replacement o[…] that is incalculable for both s[…] calculable conventional resp[…] conventional attack and a ca[…] sponse to a nuclear attack.

Second, the report makes t[…] that a qualified conventional […] could be struck within the fram[…] Western defence budgets.

A two-per-cent increase in […] spending per annum in real te[…] a six-year period is felt to be en[…]

The authors says the Warsa[…] superiority is nothing dram[…] note that Nato's conventional […] ment is very much superior, es[…] in the electronic sector.

If their proposals were taken s[…]riously they could prove a valu[…] mulus to the MBFR talks in [V…] which have been marking time […] years.

Third, No First Use lays the […] work for realistic considerati[…] nuclear-free zone in Europe, a[…] that presupposes the existence o[…] ventional balance of power even […] no mention may be made of thi[…] quisite in Mr Andropov's latest […]sals.

If the Geneva talks were to […] down and the West were to be to[…] non-nuclear Nato states would fi[…] have a security perspective.

They would no longer be obl[…] share responsibility for the infle[…] of allies who possessed nuclea[…]pons.

This would be an entirely ne[…] of affairs. It would interrupt th[…] matic mechanism by which the A[…]cans, for instance, have stack[…] Federal Republic of Germany […] about 6,000 short-range nuclea[…]iles.

The Germans' claim to sove[…] over their territory would at th[…] time be linked with the future s[…] to be adopted by Nato.

Gerhard Hirsc[…]

(Vorwärts, 10 Febru[…])

MEDIA

Videotex is to go nationwide after three years of trials

Süddeutsche Zeitung

[…]terest shown by potential users of [t]he Bundespost's videotex service [su]bsided when Bonn Posts and Tele[communications] Minister Christian Schwarz-Schill[ing] announced details of the rates he in[ten]ds to charge.

Users of the experimental service said [the]y were going on strike in protest and [ha]d indeed shut down their programmes [fo]r a while.

At the present experimental stage the [vid]eotex service, or *Bildschirmtext* as it [is] known in German, is available vir[tu]ally free of charge.

It can be tried out by leading firms in [va]rious sectors, by associations, institu[ti]ons, individuals and small business[m]en.

It can be used to provide information [(s]uch as round-the-clock news), services [(s]uch as armchair banking) and indivi[d]ual communication (electronic letter[b]ox facilities).

Bundespost computers are virtually [u]nlimited in the capacity they have at [th]e ready.

Via the telephone network access to computer facilities is gained by means [of] an adapter fitted to any standard colour [T]V set.

Information is flashed pagewise on to [t]he subscriber's TV screen once he has [c]alled for it by telephone.

One customer advertises electronic [co]mponents. A group in Berlin keeps in [re]gular electronic touch via the letter[b]ox facility, which is similar in effect to CB radio.

A wheelchair-bound old-age pensio[n]er uses the service for welfare purpo[s]es. She relays via the TV screen every[d]ay hints for the handicapped by the [h]andicapped.

Such small-scale videotex users as [t]hese are now worried they will no lon[g]er be able to afford the facility once [t]he costs start to spiral.

Bildschirmtext has been available ex[pe]rimentally for three years in Düssel[d]orf and Berlin.

Starting with the Berlin Radio Show [ne]xt September the service is gradually [to] be extended all over the country.

By the end of the year it will be avai[la]ble in Krefeld, Aachen, Frankfurt, [M]ainz, Saarbrücken, Hamburg, Stutt[ga]rt and Mannheim.

By the end of March 1984 a further [d]ozen cities are to be wired in, and the [B]undespost has clear ideas on the num[b]er of subscribers it is expecting to [h]ave.

There should be 150,000 by the end of 1984, 400,000 by the end of 1985 and [a] million by the end of 1986. The Bun[d]espost is to invest DM500m in the new [m]edium.

Adalbert Rohloff of the Berlin cham[b]er of commerce and industry says as [s]pokesman for commercial users of the [v]ideotex service it is useful for the Bun[d]espost to announce details of the fees [i]t intends to charge.

"Sensible charges will restore order [t]o the *Bildschirmtext* system," he feels. "When you have to pay for the system [y]ou are going to take your programme seriously and not just look on it as a technical plaything."

The fees now announced, he says, are more in keeping with the market and the costs than the charges the Post Office originally planned.

But they are confusing enough. Subscribers will pay DM9 per month. The fee for computer storage per page of information will be 7.5 pfennigs per day nationwide and 1.5 pfennigs per region.

The fee for transmission of information (electronic letterbox facility), as opposed to merely retrieving and relaying it, will be 40 pfennigs per page.

Installation will cost DM55. Regional users will pay a monthly rental of DM50, nationwide users possibly DM350.

Yet Herr Rohloff is not entirely satisfied. He and commercial users feel the Bundespost has no justification for charging the full nationwide fee in 1984 and 1985.

During the transitional period the service will not be fully available all over the country.

The last word, he says, cannot yet have been spoken on charges during the difficult transitional period.

The scientific advisory panel in North-Rhine-Westphalia also deals with the fees problem in its short report. The panel feel charges ought not to benefit large companies and major users.

The system, the charges and the legal provisions must ensure equality of opportunity as a matter of principle for all parties interested in using the facility.

The panel have since 1978 probed not only the repercussions of the new medium on the media but also the social, cultural and economic consequences.

They are worried that the services provided by non-profit users will stand no chance of holding their own against powerful commercial competition.

This prospect so worries them that they recommend subsidies in such circumstances.

As a general rule and contribution toward equality of opportunity the system and its technical details ought to be devised so as not to prevent access to a would-be user.

In other respects the panel have no objections to the introduction of videotex. Consumer protection is another important point in the checklist drawn up by the North Rhine-Westphalian panel. They feel fees and charges should be billed in detail.

In other words, bills should contain details of all services subscribers use. But detailed statements of account must only be referred to commercial users if there are disputes over the bill.

Otherwise the accounts would be wide open to data abuse and computer snooping. Another point is that to protect the consumer all advertising relayed to subscribers should be denoted as such.

The first generation of videotex subscribers is said to differ substantially from the population as a whole in some respects.

It includes a high proportion of self-employed and managerial staffs and very few members of the working class.

Most subscribers are extremely interested in technology and generally more interested in information than the wider public.

But only limited use is made of the service. In Düsseldorf subscribers use it for only a little over half an hour a week.

The service most frequently consulted is the news. Videotex does not disturb family life and subscribers are not distracted from other leisure activities.

Brigitte Kammerer-Jöbges, who has been following the progress of videotex in Berlin, says subscriber interest is relatively stable, as is the interest shown by commercial users.

Nearly 90 per cent users plan to continue using the system from next autumn when it starts to go nationwide and to charge more than nominal fees.

In the overwhelming majority of Berlin households with a videotex adapter families plan to retain the service. Similar findings have been reached in Düsseldorf.

These research findings are to be used by the *Land* Prime Ministers and state assemblies when they draw up videotex regulations.

They will be due to do so as soon as the experimental phase, including countrywide trials, has come to an end.

It will be the first time standards have been drawn up for a new medium in Germany. *Land* Prime Ministers have already agreed in principle to a uniform Videotex Act.

Their aim is to make do with as few regulations as possible but as many as are necessary.

Everyone, for instance, will be entitled to use the service. In Düsseldorf and Berlin a permit has first had to be applied for.

The draft even deals with opinion polls via videotex. They are to be banned on issues under consideration by the Bundestag, state assemblies or local councils.

For six weeks before elections there will be a ban on relaying via videotex the findings of videotex opinion polls.

The maximum fine that can be imposed for this and other breaches of the videotex code is to be increased from DM10,000 to DM50,000.

Users are now keen to see the Videotex Bill ratified without delay by the state assemblies. There are no reasons why the system should not be introduced, they announced before a meeting of *Land* Prime Ministers in Bonn.

"The Act takes all known problems into account. Users plan to make their contribution toward a service in accordance with the law and in the subscribers' interest by means of self-control.

"The new information and communication system is of major social significance for the future of communications."

Alfred Dürr

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 February 1983)

Continued from page 1

Europe. What course may events take between the general election and the year's end? Regardless who is Chancellor in Bonn, the German leader must urge the superpowers to come to terms by autumn.

Provided Moscow feels Bonn and other Nato governments are likely to abide by the dual-track resolution and Washington does not entirely abandon common sense a compromise ought to be conceivable.

The Russians might, for instance, scrap some of their missiles while retaining some aimed at targets in Western Europe and others aimed at targets in Asia.

The Americans would station a limited number of Cruise missiles, and maybe a few Pershing 2s, in Europe.

As each Soviet SS-20 system has three warheads and US missiles have only one each, a tacit acknowledgement of the British and French nuclear deterrent might be conceivable.

No Bonn government could possibly reject US armaments based in Germany with Soviet consent without prompting a serious Nato crisis.

The options open to Bonn foreign policy are not so extensive as to allow the Chancellor, whoever he is after polling day, to branch out in an entirely different direction.

Herr Vogel's security adviser, Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, may be right in saying that the issue of stationing missiles would trigger a Nato crisis.

But at present that is of little assistance in aiming at the prior target of negotiating an agreement in Geneva.

A partial agreement between America and Russia on medium-range missiles would be only the starting point for further disarmament negotiations.

Both would feel more or less bound to embark on disarmament talks in respect of medium-range nuclear bombers, on tactical nuclear weapons and, finally, on non-nuclear forces.

This is a point on which the security experts of all parties in the Bonn Bundestag are agreed. So are Bonn's allies and, in principle, Washington and Moscow.

That is why campaign talk is misleading.

Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 February 1983)

Tough task

Continued from page 4

heartedly endorsed by the trade unions for once.

Seldom have the unions been so kindly disposed toward economic and labour market policy measures undertaken by a CDU government.

Even so, Dr Barschel's first 100 days have been for the most part a testing period in economic and financial policy.

His new accents also include greater consideration for the interests of the Danish minority even though the SSW, the Danish minority's political party, is likely to remain pro-SPD.

But Dr Barschel has preferred to make a gesture to promote peace and quiet in a sector where sensitivities are easily aroused.

His entire policy has been designed with more than election day in mind. His plans for media policy, for instance, will not come into their own until the new state assembly is in session.

In political continuity he has another point in common with his predecessor, Gerhard Stoltenberg. To retain power he must make sure of an absolute majority for the CDU.

Like Professor Stoltenberg on past occasions he can set aside any hopes of forming (and heading) a coalition government in the state.

Jost Springensguth

(Kieler Nachrichten, 21 January 1983)

ENVIRONMENT

Seaweed converts sewage into fertiliser, power

Kiel marine botanists report remarkable success in using Baltic algae to purify and reactivate sewage. It is a case of the mighty microbe, or arguably the *Heinzelmännchen*, Cologne's handy little helpers and German cousins of the leprechauns.

The algae have been harnessed to purify effluent and generate biomass for use as either fertiliser or energy. Above all they process phosphates and nitrous compounds that other processes fail to extract from the sewage.

Winfried Schramm and Werner Lehnberg of the marine botany department at Kiel University set out to see the extent to which algae could be systematically used to recycle anorganic nutrients other purification techniques failed to extract from effluent.

They mixed sea water and sewage and gave the mixture a shot of Baltic green algae, which are remarkably adaptable to variations in salt content.

The algae flourished in the mixture, using up in a relatively short time (it depended on the temperature) the vegetable nutrients nitrogen and phosphates that were not eliminated in prior purification.

The algae output from the sewage tanks can be used either as agricultural fertiliser or converted into biogas by means of bacteria.

Sewage is seldom colder than about 10 degrees centigrade, so it heats the sewage ponds to a temperature ideally suited as a working climate for the bacteria.

The methane generated could be used to power heat pumps to heat the fermentation tanks and furher boost the methane output.

What the Kiel marine botanists are doing in controlled conditions in their experimental tanks is a process that is a problem in many waters that are saturated in vegetable nutrient.

But if the process can be harnessed in artificial sewage ponds or marine shallows it may prove a twofold winner.

For one it will purify sewage and reduce pollution of the open sea that has reached alarming proportions in many parts of the Baltic.

For another it will recycle for use as biomass nitrous compounds and phosphates an excess of which is using up oxygen and causing the biological death of rivers and waterways.

Similar experiments are in progress in Scandinvia, some in shallow coastal waters. Drawbacks that were feared have failed to materialise.

The algae, it was feared, would be enriched in heavy metals, but these heavy metals have been found to be returned to the sewage sludge during an earlier stage of purification.

The Bonn Research Ministry has invested DM500,000 in the Kiel trials over the past three years. Large-scale trials may one day be undertaken off the Baltic coast.

North Sea water has a much higher salt count, but if it were sufficiently diluted by a nutrient mixture from the Baltic the algae might serve their purpose in the North Sea too.

Schramm and Lehnberg plan to try out their technique in the Philippines as well. Temperatures are ideal there, so the algae output should be substantial.

Red algae, or furcellaria, could also be put to good use in effluent, they claim. This category of algae pro... jelly that is used to thicken ... blancmange powder and printing ...

But natural sources of red alg... Denmark are no longer suff... meet demand, and a suitable ... has yet to be found on the alg... of South-East Asia.

Algae cultures in a mixture ... water and sewage could help to ... gap, the Kiel marine botanists c...

Klaus K...
(Die Welt, 5 Feb...)



Mobile pollution sleuth

This mobile gas tester made in Heidelberg is a pollution sleuth used in the ... Republic of Germany to check atmospheric and water pollution. Its ... cooler ensures consistent results. It can run at least six hours on a fully ... battery. Samples are taken automatically, including measurements of ... gases.

(Photo: ...)

OUR WORLD

Bonn data abuse commissioner is denied access to Bundeswehr medical files

DIE ZEIT

...ave for years been keeping an in...creasingly wary eye on Bundeswehr ...ical examinations in Southern ...n and other parts of the country," ...testant clergyman notes.

...Draftees are intimidated by telling ... that if they are discharged on me... grounds they will be faced with ...dvantages during their working ...s, especially if they want to join the ...il service."

This is an excerpt from a letter writ... to the Federal Commissioner for ...tection against Data Abuse, Hans-...er Bull, by Protestant clergyman and ...cher Dieter Fassnacht.

Rev. Fassnacht, of Freiburg, is the ...urch's official counsellor for cons...entious objectors and a watchdog for ...duction procedures. He is known as ...n active and level-headed helper for ...nscripts.

In his plea for help addressed to the ...ta commissioner, Rev. Fassnacht says ...at he himself had been put under ...essure by a Bundeswehr doctor in a ...anner very similar to that described in ...is letter.

At the time, he regarded this approach as a threat and coercion.

In his letter he drew attention to a ...ndeswehr agency that should be ...oked into not only by the commissio...er but by the public at large as well: ...e Institute for Military Medical Statis...cs and Information in Remagen.

The institute houses the central medi...l computer of the Bundeswehr and ...lls under the jurisdiction of the Bonn ...efence Ministry.

The data bank contains 180 million ...dividual documents relating to all me...ical induction procedures, check-ups ...nd medical histories in general.

A still larger data bank stores all per...onal information and a register of files. 'Other information' is stored in non-...omputerised paper form. The institute ...said to pass on 55,000 items of infor...ation a year.

His interest aroused, Hans-Peter Bull decided to look into the gigantic data bank with its information on millions of young Germans. He found it understandable that Rev. Fassnacht was worried.

The commissioner's arrival at the institute turned into the biggest defeat of his watchdog career. An institute representative told him that the institute's data bank was no business of his and denied him access.

The Bonn Defence Ministry thus joined other Federal authorities in barring the commissioner from their information set-ups, in keeping with the current trend in Bonn.

The reason given to Bull was that the institute's bank did not fall in the category of electronic data storage for which his post was created.

Yet the institute did not deny that a data bank existed and that the information was processed electronically.

Moreover, the institute contended that giving him access to the bank would violate medical secrecy.

This line of argument is a novelty in the assortment of subterfuges with which to prevent the commissioner from exercising his function.

The logic behind it is totally paradoxical because Bull is himself subject to professional secrecy and was appointed to his post by the Bundestag with the express task of safeguarding personal data from abuse.

The institute argued that they could not give him access to the data bank without express permission from the persons on file.

What it all amounts to is that the institute's hypocritical emphasis on medical secrecy undermines this very secrecy.

Yet Bull's visit to the institute was not totally futile because it brought what the commissioner with his usual understatement called an annoying incident to light.

Back in 1980, a draftee who was discharged on medical grounds complained that his medical records were kept on file at the institute although he no longer had anything to do with the Bundeswehr.

At that time, the Bonn Defence Ministry agreed that such data should be kept for statistical purposes only and that the name of the person concerned should therefore be deleted.

Bonn informed Bull that the 40,000 or so men who were discharged on medical grounds would henceforth have their data stored anonymously.

The data commissioner trusted the Defence Ministry at the time. But his visit to the institute showed that what had become known as the anonymity decree was not passed until two years later, on 29 July 1982. It was lifted again by Bonn on 4 January 1983.

Now, the names of the discharged men may again be stored at the institute although the Bundeswehr does not need their data at all because they have nothing to do with it.

Not only did Bull receive no explanation; he was in fact never told that the anonymity decree had been rescinded.

In any event, he was unable to find out whether the names had been deleted or not because he and his team were shown the door.

The nature of the data stored at the institute and the recipients of the 55,000 items of information passed on every year thus remain the secret of the Defence Ministry.

Hans-Peter Bull is therefore unable to answer Rev. Fassnacht's letter. The Bundeswehr has little use for protection against data abuse.

Hanno Kühnert
(Die Zeit, 28 January 1983)

Too many people committed to mental hospital

Frankfurter Rundschau

Too many people are sent to mental hospitals too often for inadequate reasons, say Rhineland local authorities in charges levelled at law enforcement agencies, health authorities, doctors and judges.

One in five medical certificates leading to the enforced commitment to a mental home does not stand up to a critical analysis.

The authorities' charges are based on a survey of commitment practices in the Duisburg area where mental cases are sent to the Viersen mental hospital.

490 of the 820 inmates of the Viersen hospital were committed by Duisburg authorities in 1981.

The survey concludes that these enforced commitments are frequently too hasty and unfounded.

The study was prompted by mounting complaints by mental institution patients from Duisburg and by the fact that "we learned about a shabby practice by the traffic authorities in several North Rhine-Westphalian cities.

"They withdrew the driving licences of people who had at one time been committed to a mental institution," says Albert Stockebrand of the Rhineland local government authorities' association.

"We suspect that the law enforcement agencies were given the information about former mental hospital patients by the City Health Authority," he says.

It was this illegal procedure in the Duisburg area that drew the organisation's attention to the fact that Duisburg commitments to the Viersen hospital (located some distance from the city) were twice as high as those of other cities to their local mental institutions.

Some 50 per cent of the Viersen inmates were committed as the result of a medical or judicial decision. The national average is 26 per cent.

The survey showed that judges on occasion committed people they had never laid eyes on.

28 of the 34 medical certificates reviewed in the course of the survey were totally inadequate and showed no indication that the person concerned was a danger to himself or others, one of the legal provisions for commitment.

Only 40 per cent of the certificates issued by general practitioners met required standards.

The survey showed that general hospitals and the health authorities were clearly over-represented in terms of committing people.

Of the 229 Duisburg commitments in the first half of 1981, 26 were pronounced by the health authority and 16 per cent were ordered by a general hospital.

Stockebrand attributes the hasty and unfounded commitments to the fact that Duisburg has no adequate psychiatric facilities nearby.

Thus, for instance, a Duisburg emergency doctor who is called to treat someone with peculiar behavioural patterns can commit the person singlehandedly without consulting specialists.

"These doctors, some of whom are gynaecologists or ear, nose and throat specialists, are clearly overtaxed when it comes to psychiatric cases," says Stockebrand.

Ingrid Müller-Münch
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 8 February 1983)

Civilian staff at Allied forces' facilities plan strike

Frankfurter Neue Presse

...n November 1981 at a US Army ammunition dump in Weilersbach, near Kaiserslautern, a civilian German ...ard's rifle went off. The bullet hit a ...ilway freight car full of missile pro...ulsion units and set the car alight.

It could have been much worse had ...e bullet hit the neighbouring car ...hich was full of high explosives.

"Half Kaiserslautern would have ...een blasted to kingdom come," says Heinrich Linden, a Public Sector and Transport Workers Union (ÖTV) offi...ial who handles union matters con...ected with civilians working for the Allied forces.

The incident, the union says, demon...strates the risks run by the 3,000 civilian ...uards working for the US Army and ...e British Army of the Rhine.

The guards (annual payroll fluctua...tion 95 per cent) are given only a few ...ays rifle training, and the M 16, widely ...sed in Vietnam, is an assault weapon ...nd totally unsuitable for guard duty, ...ays Linden.

This is only the tip of the iceberg of ÖTV complaints. Among the others are: far too few people for proper guard duties, 50-hour working weeks, quarters in barracks (some without electricity) and extremely poor pay (DM1,800 a month gross with no overtime or fringe benefits).

All of this put together is why the union is contemplating its first industrial action against the Allied forces.

ÖTV has for the past two years been asking the Allies to do away with these shortcomings through collective bargaining.

The French agreed. But both the Americans and the British have so far refused to negotiate.

Towards the end of December deputy ÖTV chairman Siegfried Merten wrote to Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann (CSU) and Federal Prosecutor Kurt Rebmann announcing his union's intention to go on strike in a bid to bring the Allies to the bargaining table.

The strikes are likely to be most massive in the Western Palatinate where most of the US facilities are located.

Linden says that his union is prepared

Continued on page 12

■ THE SCREEN

Germany's answer to Holocaust

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Holocaust, the American TV film about a Jewish family under the Nazis, has twice been screened nationwide in Germany.

One of the many questions it prompted was why it had taken an American film to deal, for German viewers, with the extermination of the Jews in the Third Reich.

Put this way it is an unfair question, since footage about Hitler and what he entailed that has been shown on TV in Germany would fill entire archives.

Yet nothing has so appealed to the emotions and so gripped viewers as Holocaust, fictionalised as the tale of a family the viewer could identify with.

The secret of its appeal is that in seeing how the Weiss family suffers, Holocaust viewers can imagine they might have been the victims instead.

The Oppermanns, shown nationwide on 6 and 7 February, can fairly be said to be Germany's answer to Holocaust.

As a media event the two-part film based on the novel by Lion Feuchtwanger likewise assumed American proportions.

It was shown simultaneously on TV in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Sweden, Britain and Ireland and by three US stations.

Other broadcasting corporations to feature the film will be those of Israel, Australia, New Zealand, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Canada and Iceland.

The Oppermanns deserves such a wide showing, and unlike Holocaust it cannot be decried as soap opera.

The only point it has in common is the basic pattern, being a family drama with which viewers can identify.

The Oppermanns goes on to be much more detailed than Holocaust. Instead of depicting an entire era, it concentrates on a single question:

How could Germans who deeply detested Hitler quietly and idly stand by and look on as he seized power?

In time-span The Oppermanns is limited. It covers a six-month period from November 1932 to April 1933.



An SA man, played by Herbert Chwolka, tries to stop Martin Oppermann, played by Wolfgang Kieling, from entering the family's furniture store in Egon Monk's TV film of The Oppermanns. (Photo: ZDF)

Since Feuchtwanger's novel was written in 1933 much authentic contemporary atmosphere is included that is missing from Holocaust.

The Oppermanns own a Berlin furniture store. They are well-to-do middle-class people who have been hit by the Depression but not had to limit their own way of life in any way.

The Oppermanns are Jews and thus people who ought to have been predestined to fight Hitler and what he stood for. They had been told often enough what they could expect if he came to power.

Yet a feature characteristic of their outlook is that they abandon any idea of resistance in autumn 1932 and plan to merge with a competitor, a furniture dealers owned by an Aryan family.

Later, when it is already too late, they bank on tactics, on conformism, on self-deceit. They persuade themselves it won't be so bad after all.

Non-Jewish opponents of Hitler are much the same. The conservative Ministry official, the genially thundering doctor and the Liberal headmaster are all disgusted or outraged but do no more than avert their eyes from what is happening.

Egon Monk, who directed the film and wrote the screenplay, can be complimented on having solved well the constant problem of filming a work of literature.

He has dealt with the novel respectfully, for the most merely abridging and rearranging the material, adapting it to meet the requirements of the new medium, TV.

Yet his film version stands on its own alongside the novel as a distinct and separate artistic achievement.

Monk has made a point of casting the film in a mould at times almost documentary. He does so for the most part by resorting to three means.

He has arranged events in strict chronological order, beginning with the November 1932 general election that seemed at the time to mark the beginning of Hitler's decline.

We are than taken to January 1933 and the Nazi take-over and April 1933 when the boycott of Jewish shops began on a large scale.

This conveys tension and keeps the action on a tight rein, impressing the chronological sequence on contemporary viewers.

Monk lends further assistance by means of documentary inserts such as photos and newspaper headlines to emphasise how misled the Republicans were about Hitler and what his party stood for.

Last but not least, the director makes no attempt to adopt Feuchtwanger's style of writing, the interior monologue. Monk makes do with dialogue, thereby heightening tension and cohesion.

A fourth point, perhaps, is that whereas Feuchtwanger mainly describes the development of Gustav Oppermann from a literary man to a resistance fighter, Monk attaches equal importance to all three Oppermann brothers.

Gustav, played by Michael Degen, is the elder brother and principal of the family firm, although his chief interest is his literary studies.

Martin, played by Wolfgang Kieling, is the brother who in practice runs the firm, while Edgar, played by Peter Fritz, is a throat specialist at a Berlin hospital.

They are surrounded by a wide range of people who either prove their undoing or are themselves victims of the maelstrom.

Monk has been extremely careful in his casting of even minor parts, seeking to illuminate their characters and make them comprehensible in terms of the age in which they lived.

The result can be that one no longer understands them. A man like Vogelsang, a Nazi teacher played by Klaus Mikoleit, would cut a ludicrous figure at school today.

Yet in those days no-one laughed, except covertly, and the film sets out to explain why and to show what then happened.

What happened were things these well-meaning people of 1932 and 1933 could not even imagine, and this is a point viewers would do well to bear in mind.

Ekkehard Böhm

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 29 January 1983)

Continued from page 11

to bring out its big guns because of the likelihood that the problems will mount in the months to come.

A host nation support agreement concluded last spring between Germany and the United States provides for a trebling of US ammunition dumps, says Linden.

Another point that worries the union is the repeated burglaries at Allied installations. In December 1981, for instance, some 100 kilos of explosives were stolen from an American depot.

The Federal Prosecutor's Office attributed the theft to terrorist circles; the gun that killed Hesse Economic Affairs Minister Heinz Herbert Karry was also stolen from the US ammunition depot in Butzbach.

The ÖTV regards these installations as a "security risk and self-service station for terrorists and criminals." Pentagon officials are clearly aware of the security problems involved.

Richard Wagner, an adviser to US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger, told an American newspaper that US military installations in Europe that have nuclear weapons are pretty safe from terrorist attacks but that other security problems and shortcomings were giving him sleepless nights because there was so much at stake.

dpa

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 20 January 1983)

Directors star at Würzburg

It is amazing how persist[...] commitment have enabled th[...] burg film group to make thei[...] international film weekend a[...] event.

A loosely knit group of privat[...] duals, the Würzburg film fans [...] feature two major internationa[...] tors, Eric Rohmer and Bernardo [...]lucci.

And despite a chronic shor[...] funds the festival organisers h[...] ceeded in a perfect blend of cha[...] communication.

Their aim is neither to presen[...] show nor to stage an award co[...] but to stimulate debate and co[...] toward an improvement in the [...] cinematographic culture both i[...] burg and futher afield.

People enjoy themselves a[...] burg, as one organiser put it, [...] they can get at the directors.

Access to directors featur[...] shatter illusions about the hi[...] mighty artists of the silver scre[...] does supply information at first [...]

Rohmer, for instance, beat a [...] to his artistic and intellectual w[...] was shy and on the defensive, n[...] the type one would have expe[...] director who has made a pow[...] political contribution to the [...] ment of the New Wave.

Bertolucci too, in contrast to [...] termination conveyed by his sc[...] put, frankly admitted to being [...] confused person.

The Würzburg audience had [...]

Saarbrücker Zeitung

down its expectations of wi[...] films exercising a powerful poli[...] fect.

It was striking how keen the [...] were to get the directors to [...] themselves to politically and [...] cally relevant points and messa[...]

There did not seem to be [...] spread belief in the cinema of [...] and of smiling earnest, although [...] finition fitted at least some of th[...] mer films shown.

It was decidedly appropria[...] Taviani brothers' The Night of S[...] renzo and to Bertolucci's The T[...] of A Ludicrous Man.

The Würzburg audience see[...] have a very limited sense of th[...] hearted, cheerful dialectics of ev[...] events that is typical of French a[...] lian films.

As Eric Rohmer put it: "A [...] topic does not necessarily mean a [...] film." But this point seemed as [...] the Würzburg audience as it is [...] German cinema.

Take Jean-Pierre Mocky, a fas[...] ing independent film-maker and [...] of his trade who is not viewe[...] major director either in France [...] Germany.

Yet films of his such as The [...] Trap and Is There A French[...] Space? demonstrated the juicy if [...] pulp way in which eminently p[...] and topical points can be made.

In his fantasy film Litan, s[...] mad, disorganised world, his ch[...] take arms, as they do in other [...]

Continued on page 13

MEDICINE

Aachen congress reviews international advances in cardiac surgery

[...]rt surgeons in the United States [...] to use a German-built power unit [...]rtificial heart transplants, a US spe[...]ist has told a medical congress in [...]hen.

[...]ptimism was the keynote in a paper Robert Jarvik, the inventor [...]he first artificial heart permanently [...]planted in a human, read at a sympo[...]m on artificial organs organised by [...]chen University of Technology.

[...]he success rate so far is 100 per [...]t; Dr Jarvik said, referring to the [...] and only patient to be fitted with [...]rtificial heart, dentist Barney Clark. [...]he implantation was made at the [...]iversity of Utah Medical Centre in [...]t Lake City in early-December.

[...]ue to the success of the first opera[...]n of this kind, a second artificial [...]art implantation is to be made in [...]out six months.

Dr Jarvik conceded at the symposium [...]t there had been considerable com[...]lications and difficulties with the first [...]cipient of an artificial heart.

Scientists and researchers attending [...]e Aachen symposium were greatly en[...]uraged by the fact that the Salt Lake [...]y Medical Centre intends to use the [...]rtable rucksack motor developed in [...]ermany by the Helmholtz Institute for [...]omedical Technology.

Salt Lake City doctors hope that this [...]ill make Dr Clark more mobile. The [...]opulsion unit that now keeps his arti[...]ial heart going is large and cumber[...]ome.

[...]ut this is still subject to the US [...]od and Drug Administration approv[...] the change in the artificial heart ex[...]iment.

Doctors hope that the German device [...]ll help improve their patient's general [...]ood, which has been rather bleak, [...]th frequent lapses of memory.

Dr Jarvik said that though the opera[...]n was a success and the artificial [...]art functioned well, there had been [...]ny unexpected complications.

Thus, for instance, the nursing staff [...]d believed that the patient would [...]ed little extra care because his me[...]anical heart would simply go on [...]ctioning indefinitely.

As it turned out, it was not the artifi[...]l heart but other organs that packed [...] due the patient's prolonged illness [...]fore the transplant and the duration [...]the surgery.

Dr Jarvik suggested that the epileptic [...]acks the patient suffered after the [...]eration and his occasional moments [...] confusion were nothing unusual after [...]ch serious surgery.

He conceded, however, that these in[...]dents were largely due to the artificial [...]art's rate of pumping being deliber[...]ely increased in an effort to bring [...]her problems under control.

Since the patient's kidneys function[...] poorly and produced too little urine, [...]e medical team thought it wise to in[...]ease the blood supply by accelerating [...]e machine's pumping action.

But as the patient's own heart was in [...]tremely poor condition at the time of [...]e operation, which naturally affected [...]s lungs, his body was unable to adjust [...] a top-performance artificial heart.

This appears to have led to additional [...]rain trouble, though the biggest prob[...]em was the haemorrhaging.

Bleeding was triggered by the use of anti-coagulants to prevent blood clotting in the artificial tubing and the plastic heart itself.

Dr Jarvik feels this is only called for in implantations of artificial heart valves in an otherwise healthy heart and not for implantations of complete artificial hearts.

Despite these problems he said it would be wrong to wait until everything was perfect. "We must carry on and learn," he said.

The Aachen symposium indicated that current research emphasis lies on the development of much more simple auxiliary pumps intended to relieve the heart ventricles for a few days or weeks at a time to give the organ a chance to recover following serious surgery or illness.

Research on such "piggyback hearts" is now in progress, particularly in the United States and Japan.

In the Federal Republic of Germany animal experiments have progressed well, especially in Aachen and Berlin, though the devices have not yet been used on people.

The Salt Lake City research team, headed by Professor W. Kolff, has long rejected the piggyback heart in favour of a complete artificial heart.

Dr Jarvik conceded in Aachen that this was a mistake. He said that the piggyback heart (the development of which has been heavily promoted in the USA in the past ten years) offers considerable advantages in cases of temporary disorders.

He also suggested that this partial device was much easier to hook up. He warned, however, that this should not lead to unnecessarily implanting these devices in patients who actually need a complete new heart.

He said such a course of action could weaken the patient to the point where even a complete artificial heart would no longer save him.

He suggested that one of the reasons why some surgeons prefer the piggyback device is that this eases their conscience because it relieves them of the necessity to remove the natural heart.

If they find that the piggyback device doesn't help, they can say that that's the luck of the game and switch it off.

But Dr Jarvik stressed that the fundamental problems involved in removing the natural heart must be faced rather than shirked.

Frankfurter Allgemeine

He said that there were situations where piggyback hearts could in fact prove more dangerous than a complete artificial heart, as in cases of heart rhythm disorders or infarctions that could lead to a rupture of the heart muscle.

Seen in this light, piggyback hearts were by no means safer than a complete artificial organ, he said.

It transpired at the symposium that the piggyback heart is still far from fully developed and that it would therefore in any event be wrong to speak of safety.

While the complete artificial heart needs two pumps and four connecting tubes the piggyback heart needs only one pump. This can be implanted with or without the power unit. But there are also models that operate outside the body.

The auxiliary pump bypasses the left or right ventricle. The blood is channelled from the left atrium (from which the blood would normally flow into the left ventricle) to the pump which pumps it into the aorta.

The auxiliary pump can best be described as half a complete artificial heart.

These auxiliary pumps are now primarily used in open heart surgery, especially in bypass operations.

In this kind of surgery, the heart is temporarily put out of action while a heart-lung machine takes care of blood circulation.

Once the surgery has been completed, the heart usually resumes its function quite fast. But its performance can be so weak as to make it impossible to unhook the patient from the heart-lung machine.

Since the heart-lung machine should be switched off as early as possible to prevent damage to the blood cells and permit the discontinuation of anti-coagulants, surgeons initially tried to improve the circulation by means of a balloon inserted in the aorta.

The balloon, controlled by electric currents generated by the heart, inflates rhythmically and thus improves the blood supply to the heart.

But neither this nor medication can be successful in all cases. This is when auxiliary pumps can prove to be lifesavers. They provide the heart with relief and enable it to recover.

It appears that the self-healing capability of the heart muscle has been underestimated. As with other organs, the heart muscle can sustain tissue damage such as oedemas that clear up themselves given time.

In the end, the heart muscle can even manage to restore tissue wasted away during the illness, but this process takes days rather than hours.

Professor Pierce of Pennsylvania University in Hershey read a most remarkable paper at the Aachen symposium.

Over the past four years he has treated 14 patients with an auxiliary heart with an integrated, implanted power unit. Seven survived and made a good recovery, compared with earlier experiments where the success rate was nine per cent.

The results show that what matters is to implant the auxiliary heart in good time. Most patients do not die of heart failure but of complications, primarily haemorrhaging due to the surgery itself or excessively intensive therapy measures.

Japan also has experience with auxiliary hearts. Professor Atsumi of Tokyo University, working in close cooperation with industry, has developed a piggyback heart that is likely to be marketed soon.

Impressive perfection

The participants in the Aachen symposium were impressed by the perfection of the Japanese system, which seems to be fully developed.

Should it prove its worth in clinical use, other models will find it hard to catch up with the Japanese.

The piggyback heart has a future due to its versatility. It is suitable not only for heart damage due to surgery but also as a relief for the heart following acute disorders, especially infarction.

The piggyback heart can also give surgeons the necessary time they need to find a suitable heart donor for a transplant.

Experts are generally optimistic regarding the prospects of the piggyback heart.

At the moment not more than 1,000 such devices are expected to be used in the USA and Japan following heart surgery. But testing of the devices must first be completed.

This and the further development of the artificial heart will depend on the US supervisory organisations for such experiments.

Professor B. J. Messmer, a heart surgeon who chaired the symposium, could well prove right. He suggested that first unfavourable impressions at the beginning of a new development are frequently proved wrong.

But this refers only to the technical problems, not the moral issues involved. Professor Messmer said that the fact that nobody at the Aachen symposium denied the great success of the Salt Lake City experiment could well be because surgeons who opposed it did not attend in the first place.

Rainer Flöhl

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 February 1983)

Continued from page 12

films, against a hostile environment without losing their sense of humour.

"If you don't defend yourself you're a clown," he says. He compares himself with the French satirical magazine *Le Canard Enchaîné*, but admits that he is not as popular as the newspaper.

The choice of films shown in Würzburg may have been determined by coincidence and necessity, but as a mirror of everyday reality it would seem to indicate that reality is in a bad way.

There was no mention of a world in order, of fresh opportunities or of solutions. But there was a ray of hope in the way foreign film-makers dealt with reality.

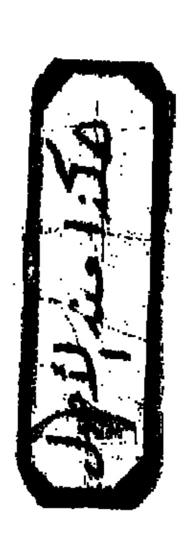
Take, alongside the French and Italians, Lindsay Anderson's sparkling, caustic satire, Britannia Hospital, a film radical in its wit and cutting edge that takes a disrespectful view of everyday red tape and jobs for the boys.

The only realistic review of the present was arguably Franz Novotny's sociological look at the world of crime, *Die Ausgesperrten* (The Outsiders).

The predominant genres were satire and fairy tale, poetry and coarse humour. Why not, indeed? Are not a gentle smile and a sarcastic grin just as important as an incisive view?

Ulfilas Meyer

(Saarbücker Zeitung, 4 February 1983)



■ MODERN LIVING

Raw deal for fair sex in picture books

The effects picture books have on children cannot be overestimated. Far from just entertaining, they also convey cultural and other information, thus widening the child's horizon at pre-school age.

This type of book is seen as the most important element of making a child part of society.

It has a major impact on the child's formative phase, between the ages of five and seven, by conveying ideas on the attitudes of men and women, thus becoming decisive for the child's own development.

Cornelia Hagemann of Bonn teacher training college has analysed 112 of the most widely-read picture books in the city's kindergartens in a book.

It is entitled, *Bilderbücher als Sozialisationsfaktoren im Bereich der Geschlechtsrollendifferenzierung*, or Picture Books as Social Factors in Determining Sex Roles, and published by Peter Lang Verlag, Frankfurt and Berne.

More than half the books under review are more than ten years old; but since they rank among the most widely read it can safely be assumed that they also have the greatest impact.

Some of these older books have been reprinted due to their popularity, among them *Der glückliche Löwe* (The Happy Lion) and *Die Pimpelmaus*.

Books published between 1967 and 1971 are particularly popular with the children. In 1970, 34 per cent of all children's books were picture books.

Two-thirds of the books reviewed came from German-speaking countries, ten per cent from the USA, while Britain and the Scandinavian countries accounted for six per cent each.

Thirty-nine per cent were of a fantasy nature while 17 per cent dealt with reality. Eleven per cent were fairy tales, while "scenic images with a story" accounted for one-sixth.

Books illustrated with photographs accounted for less than ten per cent and those containing factual information for 3.4 per cent.

Of the 3,211 depicted figures, just under 70 per cent were people, 27.9 per cent were animals and 3.4 per cent fable creatures! About three-quarters were adults and one-quarter children.

Females were under-represented in all categories though more so in the depiction of adults where the ratio was two to one. In the depiction of children there were four boys for every three girls.

This disproportion in the depiction of the sexes was evident in the titles as well. Almost half the titles mentioned men while only six per cent had women in them.

This not only means that picture books confront toddlers with a male-dominated world in which the woman plays a secondary role.

It also means that girls are given less of an opportunity to identify themselves with the depicted figures.

This is the more important considering that children aged between four and five like to imitate models of the same sex.

Girls are led to believe that women are worth less than men, which can lead to a negative attitude towards themselves.

The fact that girls are later in arriving at a clearly sex-related attitude than boys must largely be blamed on picture books.

The author has analysed 5,017 pictorial depictions of the activities of male and female characters in the books.

Here, too, the books prove to be unrealistic: 18 per cent of the men against four per cent of the women are shown pursuing an occupation.

Females are depicted in the traditional service sectors such as housework, farmwork, retailing and teaching.

The men are shown as guardians of public order (policemen, soldiers, firemen) or as stallholders and construction workers, occupations that are particularly catchy when illustrated.

Not a single woman is shown driving a car; going for walks and just resting are shown as the main leisure time pursuits of women.

If the books are anything to go by, no woman has ever heard about sporting activities.

Men are frequently shown as do-it-yourselfers and boys playing ball and other games while the girls are depicted doing needlework and household chores.

The books show 1,281 male characters engaged in activities, compared with 545 females.

This confirms the theory in the children's minds that men are active and women passive.

Frequently, women are depicted as being peripheral to the main activity or as mere bystanders.

What this conveys to the children is that women shirk work that calls for physical strength or competence.

Gerda Neumann
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 5 February 1983)

Bundestag report looks a[t] prospects for the young

Frankfurter Neue Presse

Youth protest is marked by a sense of futility, hopelessness, range and denial, says the latest report of the Bundestag commission on youth protest in the democratic state.

The commission, chaired by MP Matthias Wissmann (CDU), was established two years ago. Its report, presented a couple of days ago, recommends a four-pronged attack to overcome the young people's fear of the future.

All social groups and politicians in particular are called upon to redouble their efforts to overcome youth unemployment.

The report particularly stresses that the position of girls and young women in the nation's economic set-up must be improved, that greater efforts must be made to integrate young foreigners and, as a long-term perspective, that more attention must be paid to bringing about a humane society.

Youth unemployment is seen as the most important problem of the new generation.

Herr Wissmann and the commission's deputy chairman Rudolf Hauck (SPD) said the lack of prospects for apprenticeships and subsequent jobs lay at the root of young people's fear of the future.

So the commission calls for more apprenticeships, part-time jobs and reduction of general unemployment through early retirement provisions.

Another focal point of the report is the analysis of the position of girls and young women, who are said to be as active in youth protest movements as are young men.

Though discrimination against the female sex in education has largely been eliminated, girls still find it very difficult to obtain sound vocational training and a subsequent job.

The dual strain imposed on women through their job and family needs remains one of society's unsolved problems and calls for an all-out effort.

The commission recommends measures to reconcile family and job requirements for young parents, both fathers and mothers, such as fatherhood leave and help for women when they resume work after child-rearing.

The report also deals at len the position of young foreign ciety. Since one in three is a Tu cular emphasis must be placed integration of Turkish boys and the German school system, in nal training and at work.

The report concedes that th uage barrier poses certain diff as does the fact that many parents are determined to reta cultural identity.

The recommendations thus trate on promoting German la teaching to foreigners and int them at work. Foreign y should also be given a chance come German citizens if they m tain requirements.

The commission calls on all to socially recognise foreign and thus prevent them from bei ed to the periphery.

The young generation's fear ture the report says, also has do with the credibility and h politicians.

Humanisation of wo

Some of these fears are attrib unbridled technical-economic d ment that is about to upset the balance between man and natu

So politicians are urged to be vocal in their legislative work. parties should also adopt a cod nour (as has already been don Bundestag in a bid to prevent suit of personal interests by MPs

Under the heading Humanis Work, the commission calls fo humane work processes, the in tion of group work, flexible weekly and annual working ho more personal responsibility, es in manufacturing industry.

Staff should be included i decision-making and planning ses and new forms of labour pa tion at management level shoul troduced to permit the individ ployee to fully participate in the process.

Klaus J. Sch
(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 3 Febr



■ EXTREMISM

Neo-Nazis reorganise in Frankfurt

oung neo-Nazis are busy trying to reorganise in Germany. They in Michael Kühnen from Hamburg, only came out of jail in December. February last year he wrote to the ly newspaper *Deutsches Allgemei- Sonntagsblatt* after a lengthy inter- by journalist Nils von Haken.

addition to what I said in the in- w," he wrote, "I can assure you on my release I shall be reorganis- the National Socialist Action Front. In the old spirit but in new ways I d to make it a political factor to be oned with."

year later he has been as good as word. "I was, I am and I will remain ational Socialist," he proclaimed in -January at a secret gathering of -Nazi groups from all over the ntry.

e was only released from jail in De- ber, having served four years after viction on charges of racial propa- da, advocating racial hatred and rifying violence.

ronically, he was released early by ue of good conduct. He promptly set out regaining leadership of the neo- zi movement in Germany.

"In the weeks and months ahead we ll be organising at a pace unprece- nted in the Federal Republic of Ger- any," say Kühnen and his two new nchmen.

They are Thomas Brehl, ex-group-lea- of the Wehrsportgruppe Fulda, and -Heinz Marx, a former NCO of Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann.

oth are or were neo-Nazi para-mili- groups. Hoffmann's is officially ned.

he mid-January meeting, held in the room of the Wienerwald barbecu- hicken restaurant in Niederrad, a b of Frankfurt, is worth closer ny.

would be too easy to dismiss the 50 young neo-Nazis who pledged selves to fight society and the state ompromisingly as figures of fun.

ühnen, Brehl and Marx have clear ical ideas on how they plan to y out their political plans.

e gathering began by passing a kfurt Appeal calling on all national social revolutionary forces to join ew cadre organisation of National alism.

e new party is the Action Front of onal Socialists/National Activists S/NA).

ühnen then made it clear in conver- on that to begin with the ANS/NA ned to unite neo-Nazi splinter ps all over the country.

ch appeals are nothing new among -wing extremists and have so far been unduly effective, but this time, er Kühnen, it could be another mat-

is chances of emerging as the leader he neo-Nazi movement have been htened because at present he vir- ly has a free hand.

ther possible leaders, such as Fried- n Busse of the People's Socialist vement, Manfred Roeder of the man Citizens' Initiative and Karl- nz Hoffmann of the Wehrsportgrup- Hoffmann, are either in prison or erground and abroad.

Many neo-Nazi groups are thus hout a Führer and will doubtless be ready to follow any lead given by a new strongman.

There can be no doubt that Michael Kühnen comes closest to embodying this authoritarian ideal of the strongman in the neo-Nazi scene.

A four-year prison term has given him the kudos of being a political martyr among right-wingers, and he is busy adding the finishing touches to his legend.

As he sees it, his personal progress has been identical with that of the neo-Nazi movement. He plans to make sure this continues to be the case.

His struggle, he claims, is identical with the liberation struggle of the German people.

In age and appearance he is most clearly representative of the neo-Nazi scene, which is primarily a youth scene, so that leaves Kühnen, who is still in his mid-20s, in a virtually unassailable position.

He has the authority to be able to call on his audience to set aside their pseudo-Führers, and he earns applause with the following statement:

"Orders can only be given by someone who was first prepared to serve time in jail and to do himself what he demands of his comrades."

There can be no doubt that in this case the cap fits.

Kühnen is also astute enough to forge irrational ties between himself and his supporters, saying he was only able to stand his prison term because he knew there were comrades outside who like him were irrevocably committed to the idea.



Neo-Nazi Michael Kühnen at a demonstration in Mainz (Photo: dpa)

"One for all, all for one," he says, sounding a solemn note. Even old comrades are impressed.

Small wonder Marx sees in Kühnen his new leader and ideal, while Brehl, Kühnen's new Röhm (Hitler's SA leader), proclaims that Comrade Kühnen enjoys their full confidence.

But don't be misled into imagining that Kühnen is merely a poor imitation of Hitler.

He is level-headedly working out how he can best give the neo-Nazi movement in Germany greater substance in terms of both manpower and ideas.

He refers to the stages through which the movement will have to pass, to strategic and tactical goals, to setting up an infra-structure and to establishing a National Socialist counter-culture.

He is not fool enough just to set up a new political party that could easily be banned.

The National Socialist Action Front and the National Activist Comradeship Leagues will work alongside each other, albeit in close collaboration.

The Nazi symbols of old will play an increasingly unimportant part. Kühnen has no need of the swastika. His movement has symbols of its own.

The raised arm of the Nazi salute has long since been replaced by the V-sign. So the law will find it harder to bring him to book on formal grounds.

Legal provisions to free the German people from nationalism and militarism formed part of the Potsdam Agreement in 1945 and were included in Paragraph 139 of Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution.

One wonders whether the time has not come to enforce them more strictly.

Dirk Gerhard
(Vorwärts, 3 February 1983)

Butcher of Lyon is extradited

Klaus Barbie, the wartime Gestapo chief of Lyon in occupied France, is back in the city for the first time in 40 years.

This time the Butcher of Lyon, as he was known, is at the receiving end. He is in custody in a French military prison after extradition from Bolivia.

Comparing him with Eichmann is by no means inappropriate in a French context. Barbie has always symbolised the suffering and persecution the French underwent during German occupation in the Second World War.

As the Butcher of Lyon he was responsible, either personally or as Gestapo chief, for dealing with an estimated 25,000 people.

At least 4,000 were killed and he ordered 7,500 to be sent either to concentration camp or to forced labour camps.

What particularly upset the French and earned him their hatred was his personal responsibility for torturing the resistance leader Jean Moulin, who died as a result.

Many fellow-members of the French resistance still hold key positions in France. Jean Moulin is a French national hero. One can imagine how gratified the French must be to have Barbie in custody at last.

He was sentenced to death in his absence in two post-war trials of war criminals, but now the death sentence has been abolished he can no longer be guillotined.

He must even be prosecuted again, and in France, as in most Western



Klaus Barbie (Photo: dpa)

countries, you cannot be sentenced twice for the same offence.

This time he will be charged with crimes against humanity, but there is so much evidence against him, including evidence available from the Federal Republic of Germany, that he seems sure of a life sentence.

It looks as through Barbie, who is now about 70, owes his extradition to overweening pride.

He is assumed to have made his getaway at the end of the war using a Red Cross passport. In Bolivia he soon made himself useful to the authorities as a security expert.

He became an influential figure and a rich man and there were always Bolivian officials willing to give him cover when extradition applications were served from Europe.

Where he made his mistake was in competing with his patrons in the international narcotics trade.

A change of regime in Bolivia made it easy for the authorities to recall that their Klaus Altmann was in fact Klaus Barbie, a wanted man in several European countries.

The new regime in La Paz handed him over to the French as a gesture of good will in a bid to establish cordial relations with Paris.

His trial will not be an act of vengeance, but the court case against a man who was one of the worst Nazi scourges of France should prove the ultimate war crimes trial.

It will provide an opportunity to come to terms with the past once and for all, which needs doing in France too, and not just in Germany.

There is definite evidence that Barbie has visited Paris as a businessman on several occasions since the war and had no trouble with the police.

Meta van Dijn
(Nordwest Zeitung, 7 February 1983)